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THE volumes of the University of Michigan Studies are published by authority of the Executive Board of the Graduate School of the University of Michigan. A list of the volumes thus far published or arranged for is given at the end of this volume.

OF the two monographs comprised in this volume, the first, on East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection, by Professor Morey, was published in November, 1914.

It was expected that the publication of the second monograph, by Professor Dennison, would immediately follow. On account of the War, however, it was not possible to secure all the photographic negatives needed for the heliotype plates until 1916. When the last proofs of this monograph were in Mr. Dennison's hands, he was stricken with pneumonia and died, after a brief illness, March 18, 1917. A brief sketch of his work will be found on page 167.

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VOLUME XII

STUDIES IN EAST CHRISTIAN
AND ROMAN ART



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ST. JOHN CLIMACUS

STUDIES IN EAST CHRISTIAN AND ROMAN ART

BY

WALTER DENNISON

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE

AND

CHARLES R. MOREY

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

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PART I

EAST CHRISTIAN PAINTINGS IN
THE FREER COLLECTION

PREFACE

IN the preparation of the Studies presented in the following pages I have been indebted to many for kind assistance. First of all, I am under deep obligation to Mr. Charles L. Freer for affording every facility in the use of the material in his collection and for his generous support of the publication. M. Charles Diehl, of the Sorbonne, read the Studies in proof and made valuable suggestions. Dr. E. C. Richardson of Princeton University, and Professor H. A. Sanders of the University of Michigan, assisted in the solving of palaeographical difficulties. The extent of my obligation to Strzygowski, Brockhaus, Dalton, and other masters in the field of East Christian art may be inferred from the number of citations of their contributions in the notes and in the list of illustrations.

The colored plates and heliotype plates in this volume were made by The Heliotype Company, of Boston; the negatives for plates XI-XIII were prepared by Mr. George R. Swain.

CHARLES R. MOREY.

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY,
July, 1914.

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I. TWO MINIATURES FROM A MANUSCRIPT OF ST. JOHN CLIMACUS, AND THEIR RELATION TO KLIMAX ICONOGRAPHY

i. THE ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE KLIMAX

THE author of the work of which Mr. Freer's miniatures are illustrations was a personage of great distinction in the history of the Eastern church. Born about the year 525, he entered the cloister on Mt. Sinai at the age of sixteen, but the desire of the hermit's life was strong within him, and he soon left the monastery for a cave at the foot of the mountain, where he lived in solitude for forty years. At the end of this period he was persuaded by the monks of his old monastery to return to them as their abbot, and in this office he continued, acquiring great reputation for his piety and learning, until shortly before his death, when he again retired to a hermit's cell. He died about 600.

To his name Johannes the Greeks added several epithets, calling him Sinaita from his monastery on Mt. Sinai, and Scholasticus in allusion to his learning. But their favorite name for him was *ὁ τῆς κλίμακος*, 'he of the Ladder,' alluding to the Klimax, or 'Heavenly Ladder,' which St. John wrote for the guidance of his monks, and to which he owes his fame. The Greek genitive was Latinized into Climacus, and Johannes Climacus is his traditional appellation in the West.

The Klimax was written at the request of a friend and admirer, also called Johannes, who was abbot of the neighboring monastery of Raithu, about fifty kilometres south of Sinai. It is a treatise on the evolution of the consecrated monastic life, intended as a guide to the earnest monk in the attainment of ascetic and spiritual perfection. The work is divided into thirty chapters or "rungs," corresponding with the thirty years of the secret life of Christ; it commences with a homily on "Withdrawal from the World," and ends with one on "Charity." A characteristic list of

titles to the thirty *gradus* or "rungs" is that given in Cod. Theol. Gr. 207 in the Imperial Library of Vienna, as follows:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>περὶ φυγῆς κόσμου</i> : Concerning Withdrawal from the World. | 16. <i>περὶ φιλαργυρίας</i> : Concerning Love of Money. |
| 2. <i>περὶ ἀπροσπαθείας</i> : Concerning Passionlessness. | 17. <i>περὶ ἀκτημοσύνης</i> : Concerning Poverty. |
| 3. <i>περὶ ξενιτείας</i> : Concerning Home-leaving. | 18. <i>περὶ ἀναισθησίας</i> : Concerning Insensibility. |
| 4. <i>περὶ ὑπακοῆς</i> : Concerning Obedience. | 19. <i>περὶ ψαλμωδίας</i> : Concerning Psalm-singing. |
| 5. <i>περὶ μετανοίας</i> : Concerning Repentance. | 20. <i>περὶ ἀγρυπνίας</i> : Concerning Wakefulness. |
| 6. <i>περὶ μνήμης θανάτου</i> : Concerning the Remembrance of Death. | 21. <i>περὶ δειλίας</i> : Concerning Timidity. |
| 7. <i>περὶ πένθους</i> : Concerning Sorrow. | 22. <i>περὶ κενοδοξίας</i> : Concerning Vainglory. |
| 8. <i>περὶ ἀοργησίας</i> : Concerning Meekness. | 23. <i>περὶ οἰήσεως</i> : Concerning Self-conceit. |
| 9. <i>περὶ ἀμνησικακίας</i> : Concerning Forgiveness. | 24. <i>περὶ ἀκακίας</i> : Concerning Guilelessness. |
| 10. <i>περὶ τοῦ μὴ κρίνειν</i> : Concerning Judging Not. | 25. <i>περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης</i> : Concerning Humility. |
| 11. <i>περὶ σιωπῆς</i> : Concerning Silence. | 26. <i>περὶ διακρίσεως</i> : Concerning Discretion. |
| 12. <i>περὶ ψεύδους</i> : Concerning Falsehood. | 27. <i>περὶ προσευχῆς</i> : Concerning Prayer. ¹ |
| 13. <i>περὶ ἀκηδίας</i> : Concerning Indifference. | 28. <i>περὶ ἡσυχίας</i> : Concerning Quiet. |
| 14. <i>περὶ νηστείας</i> : Concerning Fasting. | 29. <i>περὶ ἀπαθείας</i> : Concerning Tranquillity. |
| 15. <i>περὶ ἀγνείας</i> : Concerning Chastity. | 30. <i>περὶ ἀγάπης</i> : Concerning Charity. |

The Klimax enjoyed a remarkable popularity during the Middle Ages, and its fame was by no means confined to the East. We find translations into Syriac, Modern Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French and Slavonic, and a belated English version is to be found in the library of Cambrai, entitled "A Spiritual Ladder, or Steps to Ascend up to Heaven," and dating in the seventeenth century.

While manuscripts of the text of the "Ladder" are abundant, those adorned with miniatures are comparatively rare; illustration, moreover, is generally confined to a simple drawing of the "Ladder," usually at the end of the manuscript, in which sometimes the rungs are labelled with the titles of the chapters, thus constituting a picturesque table of contents (Fig. 9, p. 15). The following table gives a list of the illustrated Greek Klimax codices, eliminating those whose illustration is limited to the "ladder" drawing mentioned above, or to illuminated initials and borders:

¹ Gradus 27 and 28 appear in inverse order in most manuscripts, 27 being on "Quiet" and 28 on "Prayer."

DATE	DESCRIBED BY	ABBREVIATION
XI CENTURY		
Vaticanus gr. 394.	Beissel, <i>Vatikanische Miniaturen</i> , pp. 24-25 (Taf. XIV B). D'Agincourt, <i>Histoire de l'Art</i> , V, pl. LII. Labarte, <i>Hist. des Arts Industriels</i> , III, p. 68.	Vat. 394.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Coislin 88.	Bordier, <i>Description des peintures, etc. dans les mss. grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale</i> , Index, pp. 318 and 320.	Paris Coisl. 88.
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana gr. 107.	Martini & Bassi, <i>Cat. cod. graec. bibl. Ambrosianae</i> , I, p. 120.	Ambr. 107.
XI OR XII CENTURY		
Vaticanus gr. 1754.	Tikkanen, <i>Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae</i> , XIX, 1893.	Vat. 1754.
XII CENTURY		
Freer miniatures. Sinai Library, no. 418.	Kondakoff, <i>Travels on Sinai</i> (Russian).	Sinai 418.
Paris, Bibl. Nat. 1158.	Bordier, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 203.	Paris 1158.
Paris, Bibl. Nat. Coislin 263.	Bordier, <i>op. cit.</i> , Index, p. 318.	Paris Coisl. 263.
Paris, Bibl. Nat. 1069.	Bordier, <i>op. cit.</i> , Inventaire, p. 39.	Paris 1069.
XIV CENTURY		
Mt. Athos, Stavroniketa monastery, no. 50.	Lambros, <i>Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους Ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων</i> , I, p. 78, no. 915.	Stavroniketa 50.
XV CENTURY		
Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana gr. 387. 1.	Martini & Bassi, <i>op. cit.</i> , I, p. 460.	Ambr. 387. 1.
Vienna, Imperial Library, Codex gr. 207.	De Nessel, <i>Cat. cod. graec. bibl. Caes. Vind.</i> , I, p. 306.	Vienna 207.

The first manuscript in the list, Vat. 394, is also the best known. A number of the miniatures are reproduced in Fig. 1, and one of them on a larger scale in Fig. 2. The latter is a fair sample of the scenes, showing considerable originality of conception, and extraordinary fineness of modelling in the faces in spite of the diminutive scale, the manuscript measuring only 24 × 17 cm. Altogether the work is worthy of its period, although the eleventh century witnessed the production of some of the best of Byzantine painting.

The miniature reproduced in Fig. 2 adorns the beginning of the nineteenth "rung" (περί ψαλμωδίας), and the text below is arranged in two columns. The title of the first column reads, "Concerning Sleep and Prayer during the Chanting of Psalms,"

and the beginning of the second column speaks of "fasting, from which the wearied body (seeks to recuperate) by sleep." This gives us the clew to the meaning of the little scene at the extreme right where Prayer (*ἡ προσευχή*) chastises prostrate Sleep (*ὁ ὕπνος*). Sleep is black, as are all the "Vices" of this graphic allegory. In the central scene the author of the Klimax — duly labelled 'the

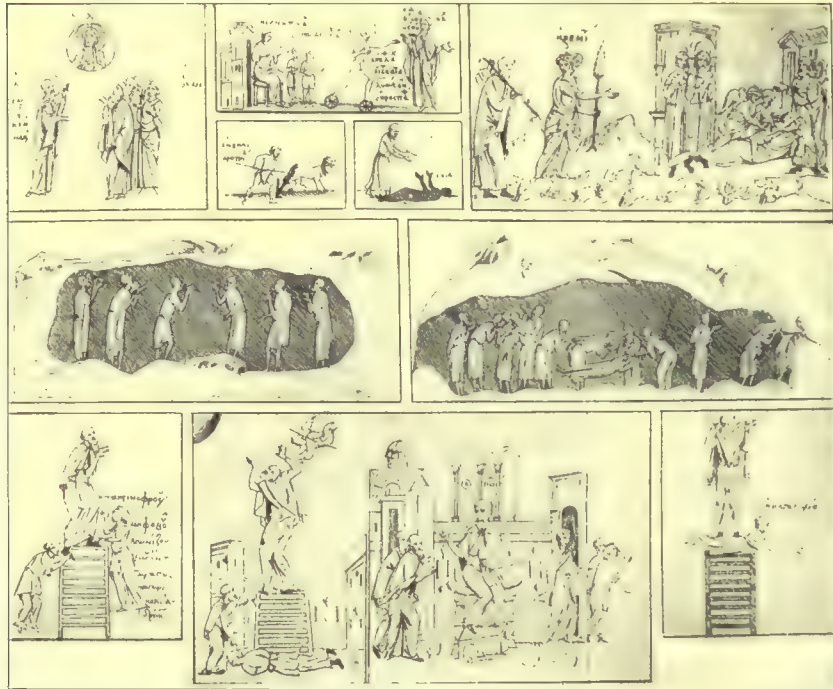


FIG. 1. MINIATURES OF A KLIMAX MANUSCRIPT IN THE VATICAN LIBRARY: VAT. 394.

Upper Row: to left, St. John preaching to his flock, and pointing to a bust of Christ in the heavens above; middle, above, a monk renouncing "Life" (represented as a nude male figure with wheels on his feet) and his family; middle, below, scenes representing "ploughing" and an allegory; to right, a monk starting on his wanderings, under the guidance of "Home-leaving," and a sleeping monk tempted by demons (in the form of angels) with dreams of his abandoned family.

Middle Row: to left, monks praying in a cave; to right, the burial of a holy anchorite.

Lower Row: to left, "Humility" encouraging a monk to climb the Ladder, while a Vice holds him by the foot; in middle to left, an angel encouraging a monk who is climbing the Ladder, below which stands St. John, pointing to the bound and prostrate figure of a Vice; in middle to right, St. John teaching two monks, and a Virtue expelling two Vices; to right, a monk in prayer upon the Ladder, standing on the prostrate form of "Evil Speech."

holy John 'ὁ ἅγιος Ἰω(άννης) — sits upon a throne in front of an architectural background in inverse perspective, and instructs four monks. To the left an elaborate allegory unfolds itself. We see a luckless monk pulled headlong from the Ladder by the Vices which he has allowed to get the upper hand. Arrogance (*ἡ ὑπερηφάνια*)

grasps his left foot, Sleep (ὁ ὕπνος) clasps him about the middle, Vainglory (κενοδοξία) runs up from the right to bear a hand in his downfall. Gluttony (ἡ γαστριμαργία) pulls at his left arm, and False Reverence (ψευδευλαβία) at his right, while Desire (ὁ θύμος) has fastened himself to his hair. A black and naked imp labelled 'Satiety' (ὁ κόρος) sits on the ground below, lifting a cup in his



FIG. 2. MINIATURE OF A KLIMAX MANUSCRIPT IN THE VATICAN LIBRARY: VAT. 394.

To Left: Vices pulling a monk from the ladder; below, "Orthodoxy," the "Pit of Ignorance," "Satiety," and the "Rout of Goodly Virtues." To Right: St. John teaching his flock, and "Prayer" chastising "Sleep."

right hand. Another naked figure lies in a cavern to the left, which bears the inscription *λάκκος ἀγνωσίας*, 'the Pit of Ignorance,' and by way of contrast to his pitiable condition, the stately figure of an ecclesiastic rises above the cave, labelled *ἡ ὀρθοδοξία*, 'Orthodoxy.' In the lower right-hand corner, a Vice pushes away three Virtues. Above his head we read *συνήθεια ἡ πονηρά* 'bad company,' and above the group of virtues is the inscription *δίωξις τῶν καλῶν ἀρετῶν*, 'the rout of goodly virtues.' This by-play therefore

affords a fitting title to the whole allegory: "Evil communications corrupt good manners."

The other miniatures of the manuscript are largely allegories of the same sort, varied with occasional scenes from the life and teaching of St. John. A noteworthy survival from the antique is seen in one of them (Fig. 1), wherein Life ($\delta \beta \acute{\iota} \omicron \varsigma$) is figured as a nude man striding along on wheels, a type which is clearly derived from the Greek conception of $\kappa \alpha \acute{\iota} \rho \omicron \varsigma$ 'Opportunity,' and is paralleled by a similar figure on a stone parapet in the cathedral at Torcello, dated by Cattaneo in 1008.¹

Paris Coisl. 88 is dated by Bordier in the eleventh century. It contains a miniature (Fig. 3) representing St. John seated before his monastery, and writing. The Heavenly Ladder rises from the top of the monastery. A portrait of the author is the sole illustration of Ambr. 107.

The most interesting of Klimax manuscripts is easily Vat. 1754, which was published for the first time by Tikkanen in the *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae* of 1893.² The manuscript consists of 195 leaves, and measures 21 x 16 cm. The first miniature (fol. 1) corresponds with the ladder drawing which often accompanies manuscripts of the Klimax and serves as a table of contents, each rung of the ladder being inscribed with the title of its particular homily. In Vat. 1754, however, this table of contents takes a unique form. Each rung is here illustrated by a microscopic picture (the figures are but 12 mm. in height) alluding to the title, and to provide room for this original treatment the ladder bends round the page in the form of a horseshoe. Tikkanen finds that these little scenes show the "uniformity of invention common to Klimax-illustrations," but that they are done so carefully as to rival larger miniatures in sureness of detail, particularly in the drawing of the face. His description of the most interesting of the pictures is here summarized, with the few additional comments that seemed necessary.

¹ Cattaneo, *L'Architecture en Italie du VI^e au XI^e siècle*. Trans. by Le Monnier, 1890, p. 310, fig. 166. Cattaneo's date is that of the restoration of Torcello cathedral by Pietro Orseolo II, Doge of Venice. This is the same relief that figures in Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, II, fig. 824, and was mistaken for a late Roman work by Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1875, p. 6. Such revivals of Hellenic motifs are very common in the middle period of Byzantine art. For other representations of Life in Byzantine art, see Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 158, and A. Muñoz, *L'Arte*, IX, p. 212 ff.

² This publication is somewhat inaccessible, and I have therefore given Tikkanen's description and critique of the manuscript in detail.

First Rung (Concerning Retirement and the Renunciation of the World): An angel pointing out Christ to a boy.

Third Rung (Concerning the Leaving of Home, and Concerning Dreams): A sleeping monk and another monk leaving him and starting on his pilgrimage. In Vat. 394 this scene is treated in



FIG. 3. ST. JOHN CLIMACUS. MINIATURE OF A KLIMAX MANUSCRIPT IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE: PARIS COISL. 88.

St. John writing the Klimax; in the background, his monastery of Mt. Sinai, from which the Ladder rises to Heaven.

more allegorical fashion (Fig. 1), in that the attention of the wandering monk is directed by a personification of Home-leaving (*ἡ ξενίτεια*) toward his sleeping brother. The elderly man and woman to the right of the sleeper and the two youthful forms to the left doubtless represent the family of the monk, while the

winged figure bending above him, and the other pulling at his garments, are not angels, but devils. This is clear from the context of the second part of the third homily, in which we read that the monk must beware of the dreams which come to him after leaving home and friends, for 'the demons will see fit to disturb us in dreams by showing us our loved ones in lamentation, or dying or grieving for us, and in trouble. . . . They often transform themselves into an angel of light and the shape of the martyrs, etc.'¹ The same tempting of a sleeping monk appears in Sinai 418.

Sixth Rung (Concerning the Remembrance of Death): A monk standing in melancholy meditation by a grave. The cor-

responding miniature in Vat. 394 is not finished (fol. 51). In the Sinai Klimax, the grave is replaced by a sarcophagus containing the bodies of four dead youths, a motif which reminds one of the French "Dit des trois morts et des trois vifs" of the thirteenth century, which reappears in the well-known Triumph of Death in the Campo Santo at Pisa.

Seventh Rung (Sorrow): A monk seated in an attitude of melancholy.

Eleventh Rung (Silence): A seated monk. In Vat. 394 the concept is expressed in characteristic fashion by a personification, a maiden in classic costume pointing to her mouth.

Thirteenth Rung (Indifference): A small demon aims an arrow at a seated monk (Fig. 4). In Vat. 394 (fol. 71 *verso*) Indifference has seized the foot of a monk who stands on the Ladder, but in the next scene lies bound at the feet of St. John.

Fourteenth Rung (Gluttony): A monk sitting at a table and drinking from a goblet (compare the miniature in Paris Coisl. 263, Fig. 7). Beside him stands a cooking apparatus on a hearth of masonry.



FIG. 4. HUMILITY AND INDIFFERENCE. MINIATURES OF A KLIMAX MANUSCRIPT IN THE VATICAN LIBRARY: VAT. 1754.

¹ Scala Paradisi, Migne, Patr. Graec. 88, col. 670 & 672: . . . τότε λοιπὸν οἱ δαίμονες δι' ἐνυπνίων θορυβεῖν δοκιμάσουσιν ἡμᾶς, τοὺς οἰκείους ἐαυτῶν ἡμῖν ὑποδεικνύντες· ἢ κοπτομένους ἢ θνήσκοντας, ἢ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατεχομένους, καὶ σινομένους . . . Εἰς ἄγγελον φωτὸς καὶ μαρτύρων εἶδος πολλάκις μετασχηματίζονται, κ.τ.λ.

Fifteenth Rung (Fornication): A demon shooting at a woman who kneels before a standing monk; the latter takes her by the hand.

Sixteenth Rung (Avarice): A monk sitting before a fire kindled from heaven, in which a body seems to burn. The concept is quite differently rendered in Sinai 418, as we shall see later.

The rest of the scenes in this series are insignificant and show a poverty of invention unusual even in Byzantine art. Repentance is rendered by a monk sitting in meditation in his cell, the Chanting of Psalms by monks who extend their hands toward Christ. For both Humility and Passionlessness the artist shows us an angel giving a *labarum* to a monk (Fig. 4), and Obedience and Charity are likewise represented by identical groups consisting of an angel giving a monk a wreath. Falsehood is portrayed by a seated monk, Meekness by one standing; Vainglory is rendered by an old monk teaching a younger one, Poverty by an aged monk in an attitude of prayer.

On fol. 2 a full-page miniature represents the Ladder reaching up to heaven. Several monks are climbing up, and above in the heavens appears an angel who extends a wreath to the first arrival. A swarm of winged devils attempts to delay the progress of the aspirants, or to thrust them from the Ladder with their fiery forks, and in the case of three they have succeeded. One of these unfortunates falls into the jaws of a dragon emerging from a cave, a familiar type of Hell. Below stands St. John Climacus, exhorting the climbers, and at the foot of the Ladder a lad, finger on brow, thoughtfully surveys the scene, a devil meanwhile plucking at his mantle.

Fol. 2 *verso* shows us St. John seated at his writing-desk, composing his book. A portrait of the same character is to be found in Vat. 394 (fol. 6 *recto*), in the Sinai Klimax, in Paris Coisl. 88, in Stavroniketa 50 and in one of the Freer miniatures.

Fol. 3 *recto* contains a miniature entitled by Tikkanen "The Triumph of Johannes Climacus" in view of the composition, which is the one usual for such apotheoses. In the midst of a throng of worshipping monks the saint stands upright on a footstool and holds out his right hand in benediction, with the gesture of a Roman emperor.

It will have been noticed in the comparisons of Vat. 1754 with

Vat. 394 that the female personifications of the earlier manuscript are absent in the scenes of the later, and that the Vices are replaced by conventional demons. The allegory in the earlier Klimax is much more sustained than in the later; here in rendering the virtues and vices the artist occasionally, as in "Remembrance of Death," depicts the monk in an act suggested by the title. This tendency to depart from the earlier Hellenizing allegory in the direction of more material treatment is a mark of the Byzantine decadence that has often been noted; but nowhere can so striking an example be found as in the thirty large miniatures which in Vat. 1754 follow the scenes above described.



FIG. 5. PENITENT MONKS. MINIATURE OF A KLIMAX MANUSCRIPT IN THE VATICAN LIBRARY: VAT. 1754.

"These miniatures," says Tikkanen, "... represent the glorification of the pitiful in the ascetic existence. Wretchedness and misery are elevated to an ideal. Never in fact have I seen such ostentation in the setting forth of this negative morale of monasticism, which teaches the conquest of sin by fleeing from temptation, which substitutes penance and self-tormenting, stupid brooding,

for work and healthy activity, and to gain heaven, makes earth a hell!"

Some of the miniatures of this series have versified inscriptions and explanatory titles in addition. The scenes are much alike, representing groups of monks admonished by the abbot (fol. 3 *verso*) standing in deep dejection (fol. 4 *recto*); brooding over their unworthy state; stretching their hands to heaven (fol. 4 *verso*), from which issues the *Dextera Domini*;¹ praying, with hands bound behind their backs, the Virgin interceding for them (fol. 5 *recto*); sitting in misery upon the ground (fol. 5 *verso*); hiding their faces and tearing their hair in penitence (fol. 6 *recto*), while the Mother of God extends from heaven a pitying hand (Fig. 5). The artist seems to have racked his brain for new

¹ *Dextera Domini*, the "Hand of God." This was the customary, and well-nigh exclusive method of rendering the Divine Presence in Early Christian Art, and continued in favor throughout the Middle Ages in both East and West.

gestures and attitudes that could lend variety to his unending theme of self-torment. One of the monks in the miniature on fol. 9 *verso* leans on a staff in the manner of the magistrates on the east frieze of the Parthenon, or the Demos on Attic decrees. Elsewhere the monks appear half-naked. On fol. 10 *recto*, the title tells us that "they eat ashes instead of bread and mix the water that they drink with tears;" three of the five monks represented in the accompanying miniature seem to be drinking out of cups. A somewhat similar scene appears in Vat. 394, which also has a fair parallel to the scenes depicting the death of a monk in Vat. 1754 (fol. 16 *recto* and *verso*). Fol. 11 *recto* displays the effect of the ascetic existence in a group of skeleton-like half-clad monks. The limit of the painter's meagre powers of facial expression is reached in fol. 11 *verso* (Fig. 6). The goal and reward is reached at last in fol. 17 *verso*, where Christ appears to a throng of monks. In the next miniature (fol. 18 *recto*) Christ invites them to enter the gates of Paradise, and on the opposite page we find them safely inside, lifting up their hands in ecstatic adoration of the Lord. In the last miniature (fol. 19 *recto*) they stand, once more fully clad, hands crossed upon their breasts, in peace. At the head of the throng is the Virgin, adoring the Hand of God which appears in the heavens above, "thanking the Son," the title tells us, "for the saving of these."



FIG. 6. PENITENT MONKS. MINIATURE OF A KLIMAX MANUSCRIPT IN THE VATICAN LIBRARY: VAT. 1754.

Vigor and skill are not lacking in these miniatures, but in general they are inferior in elegance and careful execution to those of Vat. 394. There are bad violations of proportion, and the hands and feet are often barbarous. Tikkanen finds the style as a whole to be that of the eleventh century, but dates the manuscript indefinitely in the eleventh or twelfth, one reason being apparently the absence of gold backgrounds, an omission rare in the best period. The materialistic tendency noted above would point to the later date. The unfinished condition of many of the miniatures reveals the process of painting—first a sketchy drawing,



within which the principal lights and shadows are laid on in an under-coloring of equally indefinite character, and afterwards the final coloring, put on in thick tones, with details and final outlines drawn in firm unerring strokes. Nude parts are left in the tone of the under-painting, on which the features and lights and shadows are delicately indicated with brown and white. Gray hair is under-painted with blue, which is often retained as the final color.

Of the twelfth-century manuscripts of the Klimax, to which period the Freer miniatures are to be assigned, the most interesting is Sinai 418. Kondakoff's description ("Travels on Sinai," in Russian) is partially translated in Tikkanen's article and two pages of the codex are reproduced in the album accompanying Kondakoff's work (pls. 77, 78). The first two miniatures represent the Cross, surrounded by the Evangelical beasts, and Christ receiving the book of the "Heavenly Ladder" from St. John Climacus. Besides the usual scenes relating to the composition of the work, the codex is illustrated by a number of miniatures which depict in realistic fashion the titles of the "rungs." "Withdrawal from the World" is rendered by an old man, beginning a journey and giving his garments to the poor. The homily on Dreams is illustrated by a sleeping monk tempted by two demons, after the manner of Vat. 394. "Remembrance of Death" is typified, as noted above (p. 8), by an old man standing before a sarcophagus containing four dead youths. The scenes show much realism, and apparently often without direct reference to the monastic life, as in "Bearing Malice," where we see servants assailing their masters before a personage

FIG. 7. GLUTTONY. MINIATURE OF A KLIMAX MANUSCRIPT IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE: PARIS COISL. 263.

A monk seated on a stool, holding a cup in his left hand. This being the headpiece to the fourteenth homily, the preceding ones are symbolized by the ladder of thirteen rungs above.

of authority, and "Avarice," which is rendered by a magnate in a blue robe seated in front of a chest, while his servants drive away beggars and receive grain from peasants. Another miniature represents an unregenerate in the midst of a revel, while the plague rages around him and the earth is already strewn with the dead. There is in this manuscript, therefore, a further development of the materializing tendency which we saw in Vat. 1754. The Hellenistic allegories of Vat. 394, already materialized in Vat. 1754, are almost completely gone in Sinai 418, where the Virtues and Vices are indicated in scenes of real life.

Paris 1158 is remarkable for its original initials and borders, but contains only one miniature, and of that but little is left except the gold ground (fol. 256 *verso*). The original composition represented the Ladder, with the figure of St. John to the left. Below him at the foot of the ladder was a crowd of monks. One can still reconstruct three figures of monks climbing the Ladder and another falling, pulled down by winged demons into the Pit of Hell below. In the arc of Heaven at the top of the Ladder appears a half-figure of Christ, who wears a cruciform nimbus. Paris Coisl. 263 contains the figure of a monk holding a goblet and seated below a ladder of thirteen rungs (Fig. 7). This motif resembles the illustrations of "Gluttony" in Vat. 1754, and "Satiety" in Vat. 394, and serves as headpiece to the title of the fourteenth homily on "Fasting." Paris 1069 contains the peculiar miniature reproduced in Fig. 8, which depicts the Ladder with its topmost rung occupied by a little figure wrapped in a shroud; Christ leans forward from the heavens to receive it. This figure Bordier calls "the human soul,"—an interpretation which I see no reason to criticize.

The thirteenth century is proverbially poor in monuments of Byzantine art, and I know of no illustrated Klimax codex belonging to that period. The fourteenth century, however, is well rep-

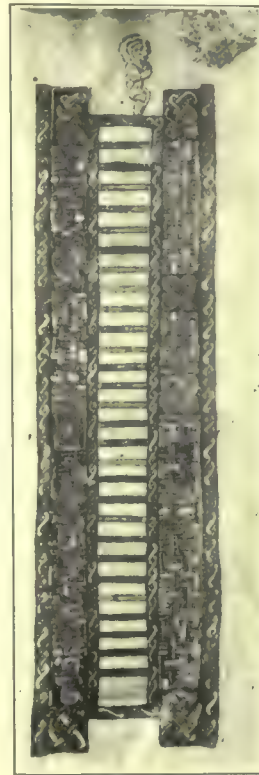


FIG. 8. THE SOUL AT THE TOP OF THE HEAVENLY LADDER. MINIATURE OF A KLIMAX MANUSCRIPT IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE: PARIS 1069.

resented by Stavroniketa 50, which is briefly described by Lambros in his catalogue of the manuscripts of Mt. Athos. The codex is of quarto size and contains 288 leaves. At the beginning of each "rung" appears a small picture representing monks, usually on the Ladder, praying and gazing up to heaven, and thus conceived in the manner of the majority of those of Vat. 394. Fol. 1 β contains a miniature representing the Ladder with Christ at the summit leaning forth from heaven to receive the ascending monks. Below the Ladder, among other figures, is that of St. John. On fol. 3 β is another miniature in all probability representing the same person, and we find him again in a full-page miniature on fol. 11 β , where he is seated, as in the Freer miniature, before a table on which materials for writing are placed.

Ambr. 387. 1 is a paper codex of the fifteenth century, containing among other writings a manuscript of the Ladder, in which is a ruined portrait of the author. The same date is to be assigned to the paper codex in the Imperial Library at Vienna, with its solitary miniature representing the Ladder, with monks climbing up to Christ in heaven, or falling into the jaws of Hell (Fig. 9).

From the descriptions which have preceded we see that the Freer miniatures represent the only two miniatures which are typical of Klimax manuscripts, the author portrait, and the "Ladder." In Byzantine art it is seldom we find an iconographical cycle of such variety as that of the Klimax. In the profusely illustrated manuscripts, Vat. 394 and 1754, Sinai 418 and Stavroniketa 50, the types used in all, or even more than one of the manuscripts, are rare. The miniatures representing "Home-leaving" in the first three manuscripts bear a general resemblance to one another. Sinai 418 and Vat. 1754 are somewhat similar in their rendering of "Remembrance of Death." The death of a monk in Vat. 394 is paralleled by miniatures in Vat. 1754. But these resemblances do not amount to an iconographical tradition, being due, in great part, to the uninventiveness of the artist as well as the community of content. On the other hand, the author portrait and the heaven-ascending Ladder are found in nearly all of our examples.

ii. PORTRAIT OF ST. JOHN CLIMACUS — PLATE I (FRONTISPIECE)

The reproduction of Mr. Freer's miniatures in colored plates makes it unnecessary to describe them in detail. The initial miniature (Plate I) is on parchment, and measures 17.2 \times 10.5 cm. It

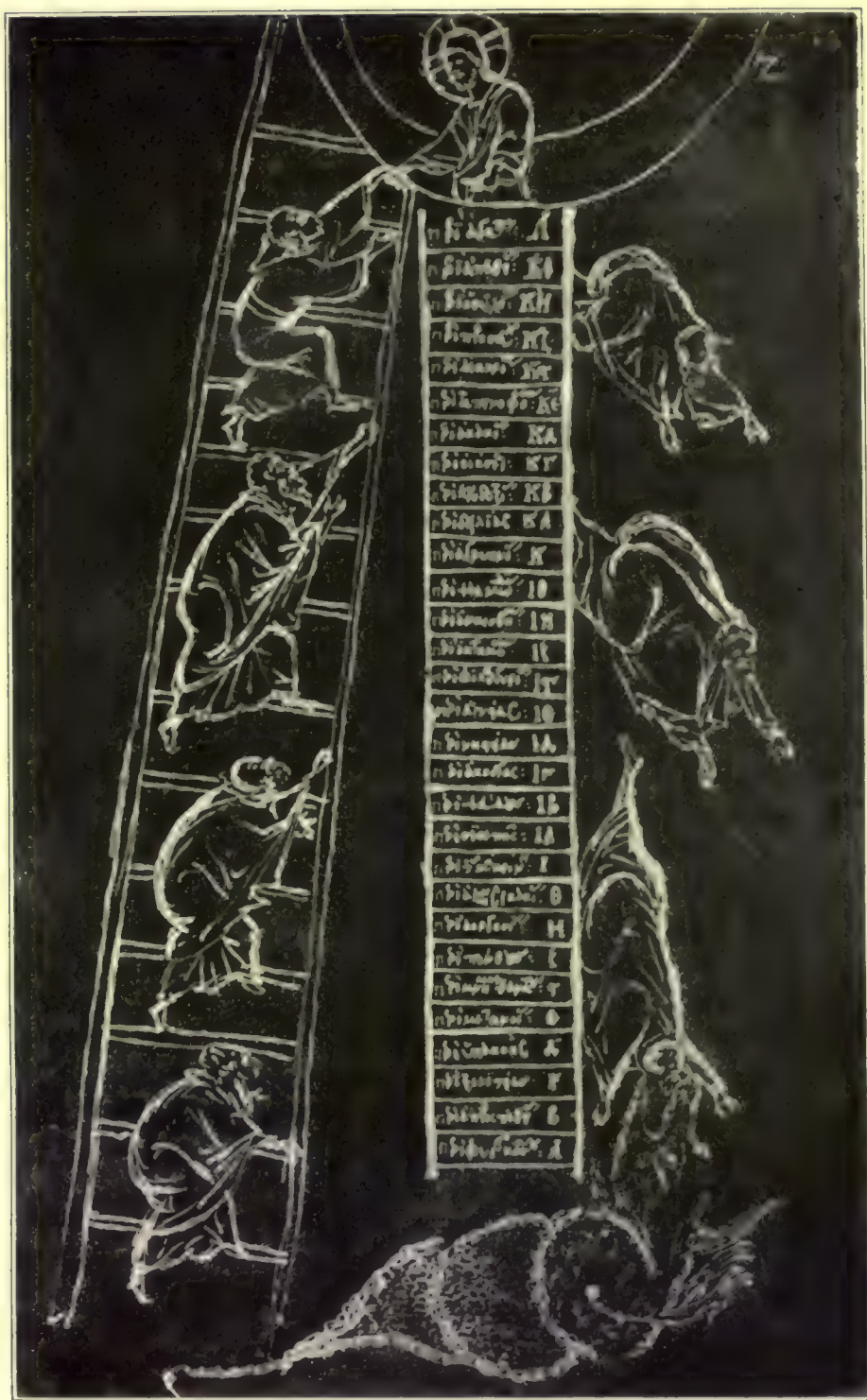


FIG. 9. THE HEAVENLY LADDER. MINIATURE, KLIMAX MANUSCRIPT: VIENNA 207.

Christ in Heaven receiving four monks who climb the Ladder. To the right, three monks falling into the mouth of a dragon representing Hell. In the centre, the Ladder, with inscribed "rungs."

has been cut out of its original page along the red border, and pasted on a paper backing. The author is clad in a tunic and the Eastern monastic cope, and sits on a cushioned bench. On his lap he holds a portable desk on which he writes, and before him stands his writing-table, with supports terminating in little knobs. On the table we see his ink-well and the phial of *minium*, the indispensable red ink used in titles and initials. In the background is his monastery of Mt. Sinai, represented by a rectangular enclosure, whose entrance is marked by a gate-tower of enormous height, crowned with a windowed drum and dome. The balcony surrounding the tower above the gateway is here turned by a false perspective into the segment of a circle. The artist had better success with the balcony on the tower which appears behind St. John in the Ladder-miniature.

The inscriptions to right and left of the figure of St. John read: ∴ ὁ ἅγιος ἰω(άννης) ὁ τ(ῆ)ς κλίμακο(ς) 'St. John of the Ladder.' This seated and writing figure is the traditional author portrait in Byzantine art, and its derivation from Hellenic sources has often been noted.¹ Beginning with a variety of the seated figures on Attic grave-reliefs, the motif develops in the late classic into a seated "philosopher" holding or reading a scroll, such as we find on sarcophagi of the "Sidamara" type, and the sarcophagus of S. Maria Antiqua.² Virgil is thus depicted holding a *volumen* in his hands in one of the Vatican Virgils. In the famous Vienna Dioscurides of the sixth century the author is represented in a manner more like the Byzantine type, with his figure in profile. He does not write, however, but points to a root of the mandragora which Εὑρεσις 'Discovery' holds before him. This is transformed into the Christian author type in the Codex Rossanensis of the same period (Fig. 15) where we see Mark seated in an armchair and writing on a scroll, while before him stands, in attitude of dictation, a female nimbed figure whose significance is discussed elsewhere (p. 35). This type, omitting the personification, became the customary form in which the portraits of the Evangelists were cast in both Byzantine and western painting, and of course is the ultimate inspiration for our

¹ Cf. Diez, *Die Miniaturen des Wiener Dioskurides*, *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, III, p. 38 ff.

² *Bys. Denkmäler*, III, p. xiii, fig. 2. For the sarcophagus of S. Maria Antiqua, see *Suppl. Papers of the American School in Rome*, I, p. 148 ff., fig. 1.



THE HEAVENLY LADDER

miniature. The *Dextera Domini* which appears in the upper right-hand corner to symbolize the divine inspiration of the writer, is also found in late portraits of the Evangelists.¹

iii. MINIATURE OF THE HEAVENLY LADDER — PLATE II

The second of the Freer miniatures, likewise on parchment, must have been the final one of the manuscript, for the page contains a colophon and the signature of the scribe. The ground of the miniature to the left of the ladder was originally covered with a light blue wash, shading into green at the top. To the right of the ladder the ground color was originally dark blue. The green spots along the border to the right are later splotches of color which have accidentally stuck to the leaf. Again we see the saint, this time standing before his monastery, holding a book in his left hand, and pointing with his right, the fingers of which are arranged in the form of the "Greek" benediction, to the edifying spectacle of the Ladder, on which two monks are making their way to Heaven. To the right of the monastery is the inscription: *ὁ τῆς | κλί|μακ(ος)*. The miniature, like its fellow, was cut out of its manuscript, and in the process the lower edge of the leaf was lost. It now measures 15.6 × 13.2 cm., but the figure of St. John, which must have been originally complete, demands about 2.5 cm. of additional space, so that we may assume that so much of the lower part of the miniature has been removed. The upper right-hand corner of the miniature has also been lost, but the upper end of the Ladder was completed by the familiar motif of the *Dextera Domini*, of which the rays and one finger of the Hand survive.

We have already noticed that the only two miniatures which can be called typical of the Klimax cycle are the author portrait and the Ladder picture. The rest of the illustration seems to have been largely a matter of individual fancy on the part of the artist, and even the Ladder picture shows much variety. An elaborate composition is seen in Vat. 1754, where the monks who climb the ladder are welcomed at the top by an angel extending a wreath. Their progress is impeded by winged devils who try to pull them down, and three of them fall from the ladder into the jaws of the dragon below. Paris 1158 also has the devils, but

¹ Cf. *e.g.* the examples given on p. 36, note 2, and the twelfth-century manuscript described in the catalogue of the Claudin Sale (1877), where the motif appears in the portrait of Luke (Bordier, *op. cit.*, p. 306, fig. 192).

replaces the angel with the figure of Christ. In this it resembles the Vienna codex and Stavroniketa 50, both of which, however, omit the devils. In Vat. 394, on the other hand, we find the demons again, and Christ is accompanied by the Virgin. Paris 1069 displays yet another variation in the human soul at the top of the Ladder. In Vat. 1754, again, St. John stands at the foot of the Ladder, encouraging the monks to ascend. This motif is found in the Freer miniature, in Stavroniketa 50 (where the saint is accompanied by other figures) and in Vat. 394, but is lacking in the Vienna codex. In Paris 1158 a group of monks stands at the foot of the Ladder, and St. John is depicted above them. Another feature of Vat. 1754 is the dragon, which appears in the Vienna codex, but is omitted in Vat. 394. The unique detail of 1754 is the boy at the foot of the Ladder with the devil plucking at his robe. To complete our list of variants, we must note that the Vienna manuscript combines with the scene above described the simple drawing of the Ladder which occurs occasionally in codices devoid of other illustration, and that in Paris Coisl. 88, the Ladder rises from the top of St. John's monastery.

As will be shown later, the Freer miniatures belong to the early half of the twelfth century. The Ladder miniature, moreover, represents the scene reduced to its lowest terms, and reflects a tendency manifested in Byzantine art during the twelfth century toward simplicity of composition. Paris 1158 on the other hand already shows the realistic expansion of Byzantine iconography which is found in the fourteenth century Vienna miniature. But in general the most detailed treatments of the Ladder picture are found in the earliest and latest examples, and the simplest in the middle period.

The model from which the miniaturists drew the general outlines of the Ladder composition is not far to seek; indeed, it is indicated in the letter written to St. John by the abbot of Raithu, urging him to undertake the composition of the Klimax. "For if Jacob," says the worthy abbot, "while watching his flocks, saw so wonderful a sight upon the ladder, how much more should the shepherd of reasoning creatures unfold to all, not a mere dream, but a real, true, and undeviating ascent to God!" And Jacob's ladder, with its ascending and descending angels, and the sleeping patriarch below, became, in fact, the model for the Ladder pictures of the Klimax. One of the earliest Jacob's Ladders in

Byzantine art is a miniature in the well-known Ms. gr. 510 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, containing the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, and dating in the ninth century.¹ Here we find the episode divided, Jacob sleeping on his rocky pillow at the left and further on at the right the angels mounting and descending the ladder. By the eleventh century the type which formed the immediate model of the Klimax ladder had been evolved, in the form in which we see it on the bronze doors of the cathedral of Monte Santangelo in South Italy (Fig. 10). In this incised design we have only to substitute monks for the angels, and the standing figure of St. John for the sleeping Jacob, to produce the composition of the Freer miniature. Another version of the Dream appearing in the Homilies of the Monk Jacobus, of the eleventh century (Vat. gr. 1162 and Bibl. Nat. gr. 1208), makes the angels four in number, and adds the figure of God or Christ at the top of the ladder. The archetype of such compositions doubtless formed the model for the compositions of the Klimax Ladder found in Vat. 394 and 1754, Stavroniketa 50 and the Vienna codex.



FIG. 10. JACOB'S VISION. INCISED DESIGN ON THE BRONZE DOORS OF THE CATHEDRAL OF MONTE SANTANGELO.

The inscription reads: *Scalam quam Iacob vidit in somnis*, 'the Ladder which Jacob saw in his dream.'

The Ladder of Jacob inspired many another composition in mediaeval illumination,² but the Ladder scene of the Klimax manuscripts itself produced an interesting and numerous progeny, not only in Byzantine, but also in Western art. It could hardly be otherwise in view of the popularity of the work, but an additional factor of importance was the inclusion of extracts from the Klimax in the readings for the beginning of Lent in the Eastern Church.³

¹ Omont, *Fac-similés des miniatures des Mss. grecs de la Bibl. Nat.*, pl. XXXVII.

² See Tikkanen, *Die Genesismosaiken in Venedig*, Helsingfors, 1889, p. 122, note 3.

³ Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos-klöstern*, p. 82.

The later Byzantine painting followed closely the liturgy in its choice of subjects, and we therefore find the Heavenly Ladder not infrequently represented in church frescoes.¹ It won a place also in the Painter's Manual of Mt. Athos, that curious compendium of rules for the painting of sacred subjects compiled by a certain Dionysius of Fournà and deriving from late Byzantine sources, though its date can hardly be earlier than the beginning of the eighteenth century.² Dionysius tells us how to paint "the Ladder which saves the soul and leads to Heaven" as follows:³ "A monastery, and outside its gates a throng of monks, young and old, with a large, high ladder in front of them reaching up to heaven. Upon it monks, some climbing, others beginning to ascend. Above, winged angels aiding them. In the heavens is Christ, and before Him on the topmost rung of the Ladder is a single aged monk of priestly dignity, extending his hands and gazing at Him. The Lord with joy receives him with one hand, and with the other places a wreath of many-hued flowers upon his head, saying to him: 'Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest' (Matt. xi. 28). And underneath the Ladder are a number of winged demons, seizing the monks by their robes: they pull at some, but cannot make them fall; others they have succeeded in separating a little from the Ladder. Still others they have pulled considerably away (except that they still keep hold of the Ladder, some with one hand, others with two). Others they have pulled away entirely, carrying them off prone, and clasped about the waist. Beneath them is omnivorous Hades, like a great and terrible dragon, holding in his mouth a monk, who has fallen in head foremost, with only his feet appearing to view. The inscription (should read):

'Gazing at the Ladder which extends to Heaven
Ponder well the steps of Virtue.
Fleeing then with utmost quickness this precarious life
Come to it and mount it with toil.
With the choirs of angels as thy protection

¹ Mt. Athos, Narthex of church of Dochiariu monastery (Brockhaus, *op. cit.*, p. 296); Trapeza church at Lavra (Brockhaus, p. 279). Millet gives no examples of it at Mistra (*Monuments byzantins de Mistra*, Paris, 1910).

² Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, p. 774.

³ Denys de Fournà, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne*, ed. A. Papadopoulo-Kerameus (St. Petersburg, 1909), p. 211.

Mayst thread the snares of wicked demons,
 So that, arriving at the gates of Heaven,
 Thou shalt have a crown at the hands of the Lord.'"

From this we see that Dionysius' notion of the picture was very much like that of the artist who illustrated Vat. 1754, save that the latter substitutes an angel for Christ, and puts in the figures of St. John and the boy at the foot of the Ladder. The description given in the Manual thus represents the realistic development of late Byzantine iconography, and yet in its wealth of detail corresponds with the earliest forms of the Ladder picture. The Freer miniature and Paris 1069 show how far the type was simplified in the twelfth century, and a glance at the accompanying table will reveal the general features of its evolution (Fig. 11). The

MOTIF	XI CENT.	XII CENT.	XIV CENT.	XV CENT.	XVI & LATER
DRAGON	Vat. 1754			Vienna 207	Triptych Manual
BOY AND DEVIL	Vat. 1754				
ANGEL AT TOP OF LADDER	Vat. 1754				
CHRIST AT TOP OF LADDER		Paris 1158	Stavroniketa 50	Vienna 207	Triptych Manual
CHRIST AND VIRGIN AT TOP OF LADDER	Vat. 394				
ST. JOHN BESIDE THE LADDER	Vat. 1754 Vat. 394	Freer Min. Paris 1158			
ST. JOHN AND MONKS AT FOOT OF LADDER			Stavroniketa 50		Triptych
MONKS AT FOOT OF LADDER		Paris 1158			Manual
MONASTERY		Freer Min.			Triptych Manual
"HUMAN SOUL" AT TOP OF LADDER		Paris 1069			
LADDER RISING FROM TOP OF MONASTERY	Paris Coisl. 88				
DEVILS IMPEDING MONKS	Vat. 1754 Vat. 394	Paris 1158			Triptych Manual
CONTENTS TABLE COMBINED WITH LADDER				Vienna 207	

FIG. 11. ICONOGRAPHY OF THE MINIATURE OF THE HEAVENLY LADDER.

final form in which the subject was cast can be seen in Russian art, the ultimate phase of Byzantine, and is illustrated by two Russian ikons in the Likhatcheff collection in St. Petersburg. One is here reproduced (Fig. 12). The other, dated about 1800, has a simpler composition. A male and female saint are mounting the Ladder, and the latter is received by the enthroned Christ and the archangels, but the throng of the elect that appears in the other ikon is absent in this. Two monks fall into the pit of Hell, which is represented in the usual form as the jaws of an immense monster.

St. John's Heavenly Ladder was thus a popular type in Byzantine art and was used for other purposes than as an illustration of the Klimax. It appears in a Greek Psalter of the thirteenth century in the Vatican Library,¹ and in a very interesting tempera triptych in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican (Fig. 13) which is here reproduced from D'Agincourt's drawing.² D'Agincourt dated the triptych in the thirteenth century, but Muñoz, the latest authority to comment on the monument, does not consider it earlier than the sixteenth.³ The figure shows only the paintings of the back. The provenience of the piece is indicated by the inscription which surmounts the curious landscape of the left wing: τὸ ἅγιον μοναστήριον τὸ Σίναιον; "the holy monastery of Sinai." The monastery is depicted in the midst of its mountainous surroundings, a caravan approaches in the foreground, and in the distance are scenes representing the life and burial of a saintly anchorite. The touch of local pride evinced by the inscription seems unmistakable, and it is altogether probable that the triptych was painted at Sinai itself. It is quite in order therefore that the Heavenly Ladder of St. John Scholasticus, himself a Sinaite, should be painted on the opposite wing, and there in fact we find it, in a form remarkably like that described by Dionysius in the Painter's Manual, and resembling to a lesser extent the representation of Vat. 1754. Four monks ascend the Ladder, of whom the topmost one is attired in vestments, reminding one of the "priestly dignity" recommended for this figure by the Manual. Christ, in half-figure, bends forward from the arc of heaven to receive him. Two monks have fallen, and are dragged down by naked winged demons, while a third is plunging headlong into

¹ Vat. gr. 1927, fol. 218 *recto*. Cf. Tikkanen, *Acta Soc. Scient. Fenn.* XIX, 1893, p. 8.

² *Hist. de l'Art*, V, pl. xci, and II, pp. 91-92.

³ *L'art byzantin à l'Exposition de Grottaferrata*, p. 43.



FIG. 12. THE HEAVENLY LADDER. IKON IN THE LIKHATCHEFF COLLECTION IN ST. PETERSBURG.

Above, the Elect in Heaven, and Christ at the Heavenly Gates, accompanied by the Virgin, John the Baptist, and two angels. The Saviour receives a monk who has climbed the Ladder of thirty rungs. An angel offers crowns to the monk below him, and another angel brings a crown to a third monk. The latter is apparently exhausted by his conflict with the demon who flies away in disappointment to the right of the Ladder. Two monks are falling from the Ladder into the Pit of Hell. A demon stretches out his arms to receive them, and another chastises the Damned in the Pit. To the left, the monastery of Mt. Sinai, in front of which St. John stands on a pulpit and preaches to his monks.

the jaws of the infernal dragon. Below at the right, beside a church, we see a group of three saints, of whom the foremost, doubtless our own St. John, points upward to the scene upon the Ladder. A monastery perches upon a rocky eminence in the middle distance, and on the horizon an angel admonishes Pachomius (the famous ascetic of Egypt): ὦ Παχώμιε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ σχήματι πᾶσα σὰρξ σωθήσεται; 'Pachomius, in this (monk's) garb will all



FIG. 13. TRIPTYCH IN THE MUSEO CRISTIANO OF THE VATICAN.

- 1, 2, 3, 4. Figures showing the arrangement of the scenes on the triptych.
5. Panorama of Mt. Sinai, painting on the back of the right wing.
6. Detail of the same.
7. The Council of Nicaea, painting on the back of the left wing.
8. The Heavenly Ladder, painting on the back of the central panel.
9. Detail of the same.

flesh be saved!' The scene is obviously inspired by the Klimax, and affords corroborative proof for that reason of the Sinaitic origin of the triptych, since the subject cannot have been suggested by the other paintings. The central panel of the side of the triptych represented in our figure has for its subject the condemnation of Arius at the Council of Nicaea. The three panels of the

other side have the following scenes: in the central panel, Christ enthroned amid the heavenly choirs; on the wings, the Tree of Jesse, and a similar composition representing Christ as the Vine and the twelve apostles as the Branches. It is difficult to see why the artist should have introduced into such a series the irrelevant subjects of the panorama of Sinai and the Heavenly Ladder of the Sinaite St. John, unless he were himself a resident of the mountain.

The influence of the Ladder was not confined to Sinai, nor to Byzantine art. It evidently inspired at least one western work, a miniature in the *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrad von Landsperg. This work was composed in the latter half of the twelfth century by Herrad, abbess of the convent of Hohenburg in Alsace, as a kind of handbook for the education of the young girls committed to her care. The book was unfortunately destroyed by fire with the rest of Strassburg Library during the siege of 1870, and the illustrations now exist only in part and in copy.¹ The miniatures were ultra-allegorical, and this character is shared by the one which interests us, a Moral Ladder plainly inspired by the Ladder miniature of a Klimax manuscript.

This illustration represents a Ladder reaching from earth to sky, whence the *Dextera Domini* issues and extends the crown of life to those who succeed in mounting to the top. At the bottom the yawning jaws of a dragon threaten those who would ascend. Two demons shoot arrows at the climbers (cf. Vat. 1754, p. 9), but their shafts are parried by two angels (cf. the angels of the *Manual*, p. 20) armed with buckler and sword. At the second rung a soldier falls, tumbling upon the horses and armor that delighted him in life, while his companion, a woman of the world, likewise falls upon the cities and luxuries that she desired. At the fourth rung, a nun takes money from a priest and is dragged off to a sinful life. So the allegory proceeds, showing the damnation of various classes of society by the pleasures that bind them to life, until we reach the thirteenth and last rung, where we see a young woman advancing with bared head to receive the crown extended by the Hand of God. She is labelled "The Virtue of Charity" (*Virtus, id est Charitas*), in which the artist again shows dependence on the Byzantine model, for it will be remembered that

¹ Herrade de Landsberg, *Hortus Deliciarum*, publié aux frais de la Soc. pour la conservation des mon. hist. d'Alsace Strassburg, 1879-1899, pl. LVI.

the topmost rung in St. John's Ladder was also the "Virtue of Charity" (ἀγάπη). The influence of the type may still be seen in Vecchietta's "Scala dei Bambini" in the Pellegrinaggio of Sta. Maria della Scala, Siena.¹

The text on the page of the Freer miniature of the Heavenly Ladder is not a part of the Klimax but a colophon of six iambic trimeters reading:

τρ(ια)κονταριθμὸς² οὐ(ρα)νοδρόμος κλίμαξ:
 ἐπ' οὐ(ρα)νοὺς φέρουσα τοὺς βρότους βάσις:
 εἴληφε τέρμα τριακοντόπους κλίμαξ:
 ἡ δὲ τριάς σώζοι με τὸν κεκτημένον

 ὦ γλώσσα καὶ θανοῦσα· πᾶσι δεικνύεις
 λόγ(ων) ἀρίστων τὴν διδάσκαλὸ φράσιν

The verses compose a poem of rather uneven inspiration, which may be translated as follows:

'Thirty is the number of the Ladder leading to Heaven,
 A Stairway bearing mortals to the sky.
 The Ladder of thirty rungs has had its ending.
 May the Trinity preserve me, the owner (of the book).'

Here the poem is judiciously interrupted in order to leave a space where the possessor of the volume might inscribe his name. A name was in fact once written here, but afterwards erased, no doubt by a later owner. A similar case may be seen in a Klimax codex of the tenth century in the Laurentiana at Florence.³ The poem then concludes with the following verses:

'O tongue, though dead, thou still to all displayest
 The edifying speech of virtuous words.'

Such versified colophons are by no means rare in Byzantine manuscripts. They usually take the form of eulogies of the book which the scribe has copied, or elaborate apologies to the reader for the blunders that he may have made. A number of them are collected in Omont's *Fac-similés des manuscrits grecs datés de la Bibliothèque Nationale du IX^e au XIV^e siècle*. The Klimax

¹ Schubring, *Die Plastik Sienas*, p. 79.

² The N in τριακονταριθμός has been re-traced.

³ Bandini, *Cat. cod. graec. Bibl. Laur.* III, p. 411.

frequently inspired its copyists to such laudatory verses¹ and our scribe himself cannot be credited with the whole of his poem, for the first two verses are found in the colophon of a Klimax codex of the eleventh century in the Ambrosiana at Milan.²

Below the trimeters, in the left-hand lower corner of the page, is written the signature of the scribe: *πόννημ(α) θεοκτίστ(ου) ιερο-μ(ονάχ)ου*; 'the work of Theoctistus, the monk.' Further letters are vaguely visible to the right of the ladder near the figure of St. John and close to the lower edge of the leaf.

Theoctistus is not an uncommon name, and it appears elsewhere in the signatures of the scribes of Greek manuscripts. It occurs for instance in a Menaem, or monthly missal, for April, in the Imperial Library at Vienna,³ accompanied by an invocation

¹ The following are fair examples of such colophons in Klimax manuscripts: Laurentiana (Bandini, *op. cit.* I, p. 266), XII century:

Κλίμαξ ἄνω φέρουσα τοὺς ἐναρέτους
Ἐξ ἧς κάτω πίπτουσιν ἄφρονες μόνοι.

Laurentiana (Bandini, *op. cit.* I, p. 481), XIV century:

κλίμαξ πέφυκε τῆς ἀνωτάτης πίλῃς.
ταύτην βαδίζων τοῦ θεοῦ σοφῶς ἔχου
ὅπως ἀναχθῇς εἰς τὸν εὐκλεία δόμον.

Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library (Papadopoulos, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, III, no. 93, p. 154), XIII century:

Αὕτη κλίμαξ πέφυκεν οὐρανοδρόμος
κλίμαξ ἐφ' ἣν χωροῦσιν οἱ θεῖοι νύες,
ἣν ὡς λίθοι ἡγειραν ἐν στερροῖς λόγοις.

Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library (Papadopoulos, *op. cit.* II, no. 363, p. 479), early XI century:

πίστις τὰ χρηστὰ τῶν καλῶν πάντων φέρει
ἐλπὶς δὲ ποιεῖ καρτερεῖν ἐν τοῖς πόνοις
ἣ δ' αὖτε τελειοῖ προσφύως ἡ ἀγάπη.

² Martini and Bassi, *op. cit.*, II, p. 616, no. 511. The editors have evidently misread the colophon, transcribing it thus:

τριαντάριθμος οὖν ὁ δρομος κλίμαξ: εἰς οὖν
ον φέρουσα τοὺς βρότους βάσις:—

³ De Nessel, *op. cit.* III, p. 130, cod. 66:

Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον, καὶ θεοκτίστου πόν(ος)
κἀνταῦθα δόξα τῇ σεβαστῇ τριάδι.

De Nessel offers the ingenious but hardly plausible suggestion that Theoctistus is the author of the book, and is to be identified with the companion of the celebrated abbot Euthymius of Palestine, who died in 472. He gives no date for the codex, but calls it "pervetustus."

of the Trinity like that of our trimeters. It is of course impossible to tell whether the Theoctistus of the Vienna manuscript is identical with the signer of the Freer colophon, but the identification is somewhat more likely in the case of a manuscript of the Dionysiu monastery on Mt. Athos, which is signed by "Theoctistus the sinner."¹ For this manuscript is dated in the year 1133, and the early part of the twelfth century is a period consistent with the hand of the Freer colophon, as evidenced by the square breathings and the character of the script.

The same name appears in the signature of a Menaeum, dated 1127, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris,² and here the copyist tells us that his book belonged to the library of the monastery of St. John the Baptist in Constantinople. This manuscript enables us to identify the writer of the Freer colophon, for when one compares the hands used in this with that of the titles of the Paris Menaeum, the resemblance is striking (Fig. 14).³ The same thickening of the cross-strokes of τ , δ , and π is noticeable in both cases, and the only real difference is found in the form of ζ . The ζ , moreover, of the Paris Menaeum is simply the cursive form, instead of which in the Freer colophon the scribe has preferred the more formal shape. The decisive coincidence, however, is the ϵ , which in both manuscripts sometimes takes the form ϵ . The characteristic feature of the letter is the dot on the cross-stroke, which gives it a form that is fairly rare. Gardthausen's tables show the form six times, citing it from manuscripts of the tenth, twelfth, and fourteenth centuries. Three of his examples are obtained from two manuscripts of the early twelfth century, Paris 1116 (a. 1124), and Paris 891, which dates in the year 1136.⁴ A colophon in the latter shows that it, like the Menaeum of 1127, was written in the monastery of St. John the

¹ διὰ χειρὸς τοῦ ἁμαρταλοῦ Θεοκτίστου. Lambros, *Cat.* I. p. 319, no. 3542.8. The manuscript is a Gospel lectionary.

² Ms. gr. 1570 (Regius 2498). Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 9, pl. XLV. The signature is found on fol. 214, *verso*:

† Ἡ βίβλος αὐτῇ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Προδρόμου: τῆς κειμένης ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀετίου: ἀρχαϊκῇ δὲ τῇ μονῇ κλήσις Πέτρα.†

Θεῶ τὸ δῶρον, καὶ πόνος Θεοκτίστου.

The colophon is given in full by Omont, consisting of the date, eleven trimeters deprecating the copyist's blunders, and the signature given above. The Menaeum is for November.

³ The script to be compared is that of the title in the upper half of the text reproduced.

⁴ Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*, pl. 8.

Baptist at Constantinople.¹ The existence of the peculiar form in two manuscripts from the same monastery shows that it was characteristic of the scriptorium of that cloister; its appearance again in the Freer colophon justifies us in concluding that the Theoctistus of the latter is the Theoctistus of the same monastery of St. John the Baptist at Constantinople who signed the Paris

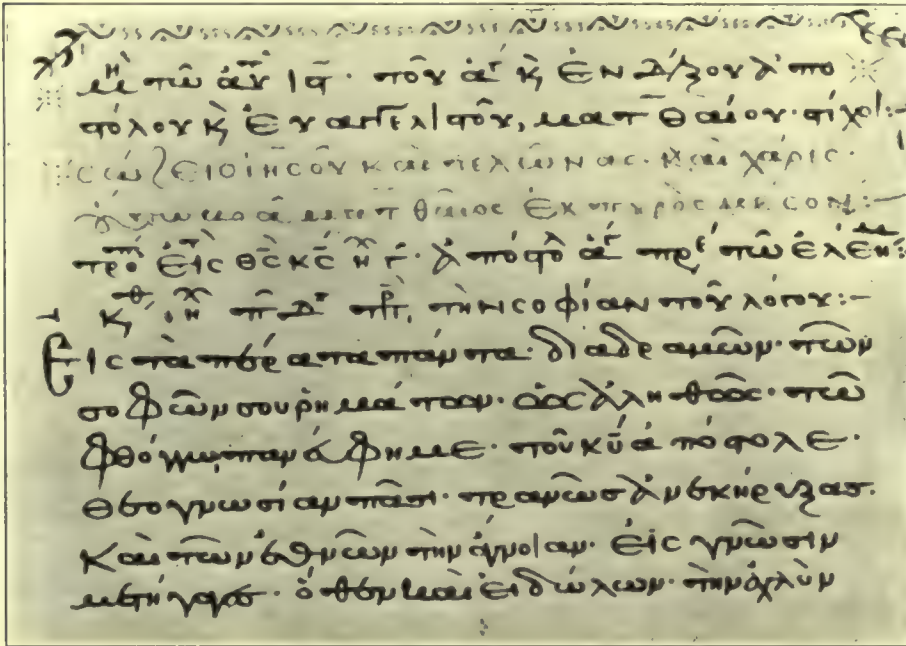


FIG. 14. SPECIMEN TEXT FROM A MENAEUM IN THE BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE, DATED 1127.

Menaeum of 1127, and was probably also the scribe of the Mt. Athos manuscript of 1133.

The Freer miniatures can accordingly be dated about 1130, and their place of origin identified as the monastery of St. John the Baptist in Constantinople. The style is quite consistent with such a date. It has little of the awkwardness of movement, the bold modelling, the sharp contrast of light and shade, and the conventional realism that characterize the later Byzantine painting. Neither has it quite the Hellenic dignity and freshness of the great works of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The sharp inward curve of the beard of St. John, the conventionality of the

¹ Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 10. The manuscript contains the Catechetical Sermons of Theodorus Studita. The scribe signs himself Arsenius.

beetle-like figures on the ladder, are evidence of decadence. But the relative fineness of execution, the beauty and taste of the color schemes, the dignity of conception, connect the miniatures on the other hand with the finer period of Byzantine illumination. There is also a distinctiveness of style about them which is rather hard to parallel, and may be the mark of a school. If the time ever comes when the students of Byzantine art shall feel enough assured of the outline of its general development to interest themselves in its provincial branches and monastic schools, these two miniatures of Mr. Freer's collection, as products of a definitely identified monastery in Constantinople, will afford a point of departure of first-rate importance.

II. EIGHT MINIATURES FROM A MANUSCRIPT OF THE GOSPELS

i. THE MANUSCRIPT CONTAINING THE MINIATURES

BYZANTINE manuscripts of the Gospels may be divided into two classes. A codex of the first class bore the name *Εὐαγγέλιον*, 'Evangelion,' and took the form of a missal, containing lections in the form and order in which they were read in the service. The second is the commoner type; it contained the complete text of the four Gospels without the rearrangement necessitated in the case of the Evangelion. Such books were called *Τετραεὐαγγελα*, 'Tetraevangela.'¹ The manuscript from which the Freer miniatures come belonged to the second class, as may be seen from the normal order and unliturgical character of the chapters named in the topical indices (*κεφάλαια*) on the two initial pages that have been preserved (Plates IV and V), and also from the indication of the character of the text contained in the titles of these indices, as "The Holy Gospel According to St. John," which is the caption of the index to that gospel. Such indices were frequent in Tetraevangela. The tables of contents are here transcribed, accented as in the original, with the chapter numbers of the Gospel in parentheses. The headings of the index for Mark are arranged in columns like those of John for convenience of reference.

AT THE BEGINNING OF JOHN (Plate V):

· · τοῦ κατὰ Ἰω(άννην) ἀγίου εὐαγγελίου τὰ κεφάλ(αια).

α' πε(ρὶ) τοῦ ἐν κανὰ γάμου (II)	ι' πε(ρὶ) τοῦ ἐκ γενετῆς τυφλοῦ (IX)
β' πε(ρὶ) τῶν ἐκβληθέντ(ων) ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ (II)	ιι' πε(ρὶ) τοῦ λαζάρου (XI)
γ' πε(ρὶ) νικοδήμου (III)	ιβ' πε(ρὶ) τῆς ἀλειψάσης τὸν κ(ύριον) μύρωι (XII)
δ' ζήτησις περὶ καθαρισμοῦ (III)	ιγ' πε(ρὶ) ὧν εἶπεν ἰούδας (XII)
ε' περὶ τῆς σαμψαρείτιδος (IV)	ιδ' περὶ τοῦ ὄνου (XII)
ς' περὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ (IV)	ιε' πε(ρὶ) τῶν προσελθόντ(ων) ἐλλήνων (XII)
ζ' περὶ τοῦ λη ἔτη ἔχοντο(ς) ἐν τ(ῇ) ἀσθε- νείᾳ (V)	ισ' περὶ τοῦ νιπτηῆρος (XIII)
η' πε(ρὶ) τῶν ἐ ἄρτων καὶ τῶν β' ἰχθύνων (VI)	ιζ' περὶ τοῦ παρακλήτου (XIV)
θ' πε(ρὶ) τοῦ ἐν θαλάσῃ περιπάτου (VI)	ιη' πε(ρὶ) τ(ῇ)ς αἰτήσεως τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώ- μ(α)το(ς) (XIX)

¹ Brockhaus, *op. cit.* p. 184.

AT THE BEGINNING OF MARK (Plate IV):

τοῦ κατὰ μάρκον ἀγ(ίου) εὐαγγελ(ίου) τὰ κεφάλ(αια).

α' πε(ρι) τοῦ δαμονιζομένου (I)	κς' πε(ρι) τοῦ σεληνιαζομένου (IX)
β' πε(ρι) τῆς πενθερᾶς τοῦ πέτρου (I)	κξ' περὶ τῶν διαλογιζομένων τίς μεΐζων (IX)
γ' πε(ρι) τῶν ἱαθέντων ἀπὸ ποικίλων νό- σων (I)	κη' πε(ρι) τῶν ἐπερωτησάντων φαρισαί(ων) (X)
δ' πε(ρι) τοῦ λεπροῦ (I)	κθ' πε(ρι) τοῦ ἐπερωτήσαντο(ς) πλουσίου τὸν ἰ(ησοῦ)ν (X)
ε' περὶ τοῦ παραλυτικοῦ (II)	λ' πε(ρι) τῶν υἱῶν ζεβεδαίου (X)
ς' περὶ λευὶ τοῦ τελώνου (II)	λα' περὶ τοῦ βαρτιμαίου (X).
ζ' πε(ρι) τοῦ ξηρὰν ἔχοντος χεῖρα (III)	λβ' περὶ τοῦ πῶλου (XI)
η' περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλ(ων) ἐκλογῆς (III)	λγ' πε(ρι) τῆς ξηρανθείσης συκῆς (XI)
θ' περὶ τοῦ σπόρου παραβολῆ (IV)	λδ' περὶ ἀμνησικακίας (XI)
ι' περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως τῶν ὑδάτων (IV)	λε' πε(ρι) τῶν ἐπερωτησάντων τὸν κ(ύριο)ν ἀρχιερέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων (XI)
ια' περὶ τοῦ λεγεῶνος (V)	λς' πε(ρι) τοῦ ἀμπελώνος (XII)
ιβ' πε(ρι) τῆς θυγατρὸς(ς) τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώ- γου (V)	λξ' περὶ τῆς ἐπερωτήσεως τοῦ κήνσου (XII)
ιγ' περὶ τῆς αἰμορροούσης (V)	λη' περὶ τῶν σαδδουκαίων (XII)
ιδ' περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων διαταγῆς (VI)	λθ' περὶ τοῦ γραμματέως (XII)
ιε' περὶ ἰωάννου καὶ ἡρώδου (VI)	μ' περὶ τῆς τοῦ κ(υρίου) ἐπερωτήσεως (XII)
ισ' περὶ τῶν ε' ἄρτων καὶ τῶν β' ἰχθύων (VI)	μα' περὶ τῆς τὰ δύο λεπτὰ χήρας (XII)
ιζ' περὶ τοῦ ἐν θαλάσῃ περιπάτου (VI)	μβ' περὶ τῆς συντελείας (XII)
ιη' περὶ τῆς παραβάσεως τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ (VII)	μγ' περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας (XIII)
ιθ' περὶ τῆς φοινικίσσης (VII)	μδ' περὶ τῆς ἀλειψάσης τὸν κ(ύριο)ν μύρω (XIV)
κ' πε(ρι) τοῦ μογγιλάλου (VII)	με' περὶ τοῦ πάσχα (XIV)
κα' περὶ τῶν ζ' ἄρτων (VIII)	μς' περὶ τῆς παραδόσεως προφητεία (XIV)
κβ' περὶ τῆς ζύμης τῶν φαρισαίων (VIII)	μξ' ἄρνησις πέτρου (XIV)
κγ' περὶ τοῦ τυφλοῦ (VIII)	μη' περὶ τῆς αἰτήσεως τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώμα- τος τοῦ κ(υρίου)ν (XV)
κδ' περὶ τῆς ἐν καισαρείᾳ ἐπερωτήσε(ως) (VIII)	
κε' περὶ τῆς μεταμορφώσεως τοῦ ἰ(ησο)ῦ (IX)	

The portion of the manuscript in Mr. Freer's possession consists of five parchment leaves which show much hard usage, particularly at the upper outer corner, where the missing parchment has been replaced with paper, while the inner edge shows in the case of nearly all the leaves that they were torn and not cut from the original binding. The following list shows the dimensions of the leaves, and the distribution of the miniatures:

Fol. I. 26.9 × 19.1 cm.

Recto, Portrait of St. Mark, 18.4 × 14.3 cm. (Plate III).

Verso, Index of selections from the Gospel of Mark (Plate IV).

Fol. II. 27 × 19.4 cm.

Recto, Descent from the Cross, 14.3 × 21.1 cm. (Plate VI).

Verso, Portrait of St. John, 13 × 11.7 cm. (Plate V).

Fol. III. 26.1 × 17.1 cm.

Recto, Descent into Hell, 20.4 × 14.3 cm. (Plate VII).

Verso, Doubting of Thomas, 20.4 × 14 cm. (Plate VIII).

Fol. IV. 26.1 × 17.5 cm.

Recto, Christ and the Holy Women, 20.1 × 14.3 cm. (Plate IX).

Verso, Madonna and Saints, 17.1 × 15.6 cm. (Plate X).

Fol. V. 26.1 × 16.5 cm.

Recto, Two Saints, 15.6 × 13.5 cm.

Verso, no miniature.

Folio I has a row of holes in its outer edge, which indicates a rebinding. It is the best preserved of the leaves and gives an idea of the original dimensions of the codex, which must have measured about 27 × 19 cm. A red border surrounds the miniatures in every case, and all but one, the portrait of St. John, fill the page. The large size of the miniatures, and the fact that the infrequent scenes of Christ and the Holy Women and the Doubting of Thomas are included in the surviving group, betoken a manuscript of unusual richness of illustration; it is probably safe to conjecture that the original codex contained from twenty to forty miniatures.

The position of the eight remaining miniatures in the original manuscript may be determined with reasonable certainty. Fol. I *recto* is clearly the initial miniature of Mark; it bears on its *verso* the list of chapters of his Gospel. Fol. II *recto*, the Descent from the Cross, is the last miniature in Luke, since the *verso* contains the portrait of St. John with the index to his Gospel and thus constituted an initial page. The next miniature after this was certainly the Descent into Hell, fol. III *recto*, that being, as we shall see later, the distinctive illustration of the fourth Gospel and regularly leading its group of miniatures. The *verso* of this leaf contains the Doubting of Thomas, a characteristically Johannine incident and indeed recorded only by the fourth Gospel. But it will also be noted that the damage to the upper outer corner of the leaves is progressively greater as we proceed toward the end of the book. Thus the leaf containing the initial miniature of Mark, fol. I, which was situated well toward the front of the codex, has suffered comparatively little. The initial miniature of John, on the other hand, has lost considerably more of the corner. Fol. III has lost a great deal more, which indicates that a considerable number of leaves intervened between it and fol. II. A

proportionate increase in the damage done to the corner is seen in fol. IV, and the half-demolished state of fol. V suggests a position near the end of the book.

ii. PORTRAITS OF MARK AND JOHN

The initial miniature of Mark (fol. I *recto*; Plate III) depicts the Evangelist, clad in blue tunic and violet pallium, seated on a chair set before a rectangular house with gilded roof and gray-blue façade. Traces of color remaining on his beard show that his hair was dark. His feet rest on a golden footstool. Before him stands his writing table, on which is set a lectern, and the Evangelist, with an indeterminate gesture of his right hand, places a written page upon, or withdraws it from, the lectern. On his knees rests the open book of his Gospel, inscribed with the partially obliterated text of the initial phrase: (ἀρχὴ τοῦ) εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. Remnants of letters are also to be seen on the leaf which Mark holds in his right hand. In the field of the upper part of the page we can make out portions of an inscription which contained the name ΜΑΡΚΟΣ. The facsimile reproduction (Plate III) obviates the necessity of a detailed description of the colors employed. The background, which is almost gone, was originally in gold, save for the green strip representing the ground which fills the bottom of the picture. The type is simply a variation of the Byzantine author type whose origin was discussed above (p. 16), the chief difference being the unusual gesture of the Evangelist's right arm and hand. There remains but one detail of the iconography to be considered, and this is of first-rate importance.

I refer to the bird which perches on one leg on the upper right-hand corner of the lectern and with the other leg supports an open book. Two possible interpretations present themselves to a preliminary view. The bird may be a dove representing the Holy Spirit, the divine inspiration of the writer, or may be the individual symbol of the Evangelist himself. One or the other of these explanations is applicable in like fashion to the similar motif in the miniature representing St. John (Plate V). Here we see the Evangelist seated in much the same surroundings as Mark. The background, originally gold, contains a fragmentary inscription in red. The writing desk, lectern and footstool are in gold with black lines. The ground-strip is gray-blue, which seems



ST. MARK

to have been also the color of the Evangelist's pallium. The figure of John, however, has lost practically all of its color. Behind him is a rectangular building in violet, and to the right of the picture a square tower in violet, gray-blue and green. The Evangelist is depicted in the act of writing his gospel, and the book in which he writes retains traces of letters in red. An open book lies upon the lectern, inscribed with letters in red, portions of which still survive. Lastly, the bird on Mark's lectern is here replaced by a human half-figure, holding again a half-opened book. Bird in one case and man in the other must be subject to the same relative explanation.

The inspiration motif is not uncommon in portraits of the Evangelists. It occurs as early as the sixth century, to which period belongs the miniature from the Rossano Gospel, here reproduced (Fig. 15). The female figure with the nimbus, dictating to Mark, has been variously interpreted as Mary, or Divine Wisdom, or the Church.¹ In any case, it is the Christian translation of a motif like the Spirit of Discovery (*εὐρεσις*) which stands in front of Dioscurides in the Vienna manuscript of that author (see



FIG. 15. ST. MARK WRITING HIS GOSPEL. MINIATURE OF THE CODEx ROSSANENSIS.

A female personification (Divine Wisdom?) dictates to the Evangelist.

p. 16) and may be taken as a type of divine inspiration. A female personification of this sort reappears as the inspiration of Matthew in a Serb-slavonic psalter of the thirteenth century in the Chilandari monastery on Mt. Athos.² This figure is labelled "Premoudrost," or "Wisdom," and a similar significance is to be attached to the female half-figure which seems to dictate to John in a thirteenth century relief on the basilica of St. Mark's at Venice³ (Fig. 16). The South Italian manuscript from which

¹ Gebhardt and Harnack, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*, Leipzig, 1880, p. XLVI.

² Brockhaus, *op. cit.* p. 235, pl. 28.

³ H. von der Gabelentz, *Mittelalterliche Plastik in Venedig*, p. 141.

the famous Durham Book (circ. 700) was copied must have further defined the motif by introducing the Logos as the inspiring familiar of the Evangelist, for on the initial page of Matthew in the Durham Book (Fig. 17) we see a nimbed and bearded head peeping out from behind a curtain, which cannot be interpreted in any other way. The winged angel which is the personal symbol of the Evangelist himself appears above his head with the label: *Imago hominis*.¹

The post-iconoclastic period made little use of such elaborate motifs in the portraits of evangelists, and the usual method of ren-



FIG. 16. CHRIST, ST. JOHN, AND ST. MATTHEW. RELIEFS ON ST. MARK'S AT VENICE.

dering the notion of divine inspiration was the introduction of the *Dextera Domini* issuing from the heavens above the writer's head, as in the portrait of St. John Climacus (Plate I).² But other devices are found, as for example the dove which whispers in the ear of Mark in a Gospel of the twelfth century in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris,³ and the winged genii at the ears of Mark and Luke in a Latin manuscript of the same library, with Byzantine

¹ The motif is repeated in an Anglo-Saxon Gospel of the eleventh century at Copenhagen (Westwood, *The Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts*, pl. 41).

² This motif is found in the following: Ms. in Claudin Sale 1877 (Bordier, *op. cit.* p. 306, XII cent.); Vat. Urb. gr. 2, an. 1143 (D'Agincourt, *op. cit.* V. pl. LIX); Paris, Bibl. Nat. gr. Suppl. 242, an. 1650 (Bordier, *op. cit.* p. 295). In Slavic manuscripts the Hand is often replaced by rays, particularly in the case of John (Likhatcheff, *Matériaux pour l'hist. de l'iconographie russe*, pl. 375, Ms. of the year 1531).

³ Bibl. Nat. gr. 51 (Bordier, *op. cit.* p. 181). Cf. the same motif in a manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (D. 67, suppl. Reproduced in Muñoz, *L'Art byzantin à l'Exposition de Grottaferrata*, fig. 63).

miniatures, also of the twelfth century.¹ In a late Byzantine manuscript (an. 1650) in the Bibliothèque Nationale,² the inspiration type and the Evangelist's symbol seem to have become confused, for there we find St. John dictating to Prochorus, but listening at the same time, with hand to ear, to the eagle which soars above him; and the angel of St. Matthew appears behind the Evangelist and seems to dictate to him in the same way. All these devices are employed in Slavic manuscripts of the modern period.³

It will have been observed, however, that in all of these "inspiration types," the relation of the writer to the angel or dove or personification is an intimate one. This was expressed in the later Byzantine painting, the epoch in which our miniatures belong, in the rather obvious fashion of depicting the medium of inspiration behind the evangelist and whispering in his ear. Our bird and "angel," on the other hand, however much they may give the impression of dictation by the open book which each is holding, are nevertheless in no such close communication

with the holy scribes. Neither Evangelist looks as if he were listening to the Divine Voice. The relative position of the bird and the human figure does not differ much in fact from that given to the symbols of the Evangelists in a Lombard relief decorating a sarcophagus in S. Zeno at Verona (XI-XII century; Fig. 18).⁴

May not they, the bird and angel of our miniatures, be then symbols of the two Evangelists? Two objections to this view immediately arise: the familiar symbol of Mark is not the eagle (supposing that our bird may so be interpreted), but the lion, while



FIG. 17. ST. MATTHEW WRITING HIS GOSPEL. MINIATURE OF THE DURHAM BOOK.

¹ Bibl. Nat. lat. 276 (Bordier, *op. cit.* p. 302). ² Suppl. 242 (Bordier, *op. cit.* p. 294).

³ Likhatcheff, *op. cit.* plates 144, 145, 245.

⁴ A rendering of the symbols above the lecterns which is practically identical with that of the Freer miniatures is found in the portraits of Matthew and Mark on some Rhenish-Byzantine ivory plaques in the Louvre, assigned to the tenth or eleventh century.

that of John is not the man, but the eagle; and second, the symbols of the Evangelists are rare in Byzantine manuscripts and are commonly supposed to occur only at an epoch much later than that to which our miniatures must be assigned.

The four beasts of Ezekiel and Revelation were given the significance of the four Evangelists as early as the second century,¹ and the identification of the types which ultimately became current in the West was that laid down by Jerome, according to which the beast "with a face as a man" was Matthew, the one "like a lion" was Mark, the one "like a calf" was Luke, and the fourth beast "like a flying eagle" was John. But the Fathers did



FIG. 18. THE CRUCIFIXION AND THE FOUR EVANGELISTS. RELIEF OF A SARCOPHAGUS IN S. ZENO, VERONA.

Above the cross are half-figures of angels. The symbols of the Evangelists are depicted as if resting on small ledges above the lecterns.

not all agree with Jerome. Irenaeus, for example, associates the lion with John, the man with Matthew, the calf with Luke, and the eagle with Mark; Athanasius gives no symbol to Matthew, but assigns the calf to Mark, the lion to Luke, and the eagle to John; Augustine refers the lion to Matthew, the man to Mark, the calf to Luke, and the eagle to John.

The earliest example of the use of the four beasts in art is found in the apsidal mosaic of the church of S. Pudenziana at Rome, which dates near the end of the fourth century; from that time on they are frequent enough. But their first appearance together with the Evangelists themselves, where each beast is depicted as the individual sign of each Evangelist, was in the mosaic

¹ Ezekiel, i, 4 ff. Rev. iv, 6 ff. Cf. Kraus, *Realencyklopädie der christl. Altertümer*, I, p. 456, and Trench, *Sacred Latin Poetry*, p. 62, note 12.



✠ του Κατὰ ἱεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγγελοῦ τὰ κεφῶ

1 ^α π' τοῦ ἐν Καταγαίου	:	1 ^α β' τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος	:
2 ^α π' τοῦ ἐν Κόσμου	:	2 ^α γ' τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος	:
3 ^α π' τοῦ ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ	:	3 ^α δ' τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος	:
4 ^α π' τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Ἀσθενείας	:	4 ^α ε' τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος	:
5 ^α π' τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Πειρασμῶν	:	5 ^α ς' τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος	:
6 ^α π' τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος	:	6 ^α ζ' τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος	:
7 ^α π' τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος	:	7 ^α η' τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος	:
8 ^α π' τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας	:	8 ^α θ' τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος	:
9 ^α π' τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκ τῆς Ἀφρικής	:	9 ^α ι' τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος	:
10 ^α π' τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκ τῆς Ἀμερικής	:	10 ^α ια' τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος	:



THE DESCENT FROM THE CROSS

ceiling of the chapel of St. John Baptist in the Lateran Baptistery, an addition due to Pope Hilary (461-468). This mosaic is now destroyed,¹ and the earliest existing example of the individual distribution of the symbols is furnished by the mosaics of the choir of S. Vitale at Ravenna of the sixth century, where, as in the lost mosaic, the beasts are assigned after the manner of Jerome. This rule became the customary one for the Western artists of the Middle Ages, chiefly through the influence of Gregory the Great, who adopted Jerome's interpretation; in the East, however, the artists contented themselves with occasionally depicting the four symbols, often combining them in a single figure known as the Tetramorphon, but never, during the great period, associating them severally with the Evangelists.

It came to be generally believed, therefore, that the symbols are never associated with the Evangelists in Byzantine Art until very late times; and this view is reflected in the latest handbook on illuminated manuscripts, by J. A. Herbert,² who says that the symbols in this connection "are practically unknown" in Byzantine manuscripts, pointing out that their first appearance in those of the British Museum is in a manuscript of 1326, while the Vatican manuscripts are said to contain no example at all of their use. There are cases, however, of their occurrence earlier than the fourteenth century, and two very interesting examples on Mt. Athos are cited by Brockhaus.³ The first is a Tetraevangelon in the Vatopedi monastery (no. 713), which, while it gives no symbol to Matthew, assigns the eagle to Mark, the calf to Luke, and the lion to John, thus following the interpretation of Irenaeus.⁴ The symbols are painted on separate pages, but with obvious relation to the Evangelists, whose portraits appear on the following pages, or, in the case of Mark, on the next page thereafter. Here the eagle is given as the symbol of the Evangelist, and is further certified as his type by the book which it carries, and by the inscription: ὁ ἀγίος Μάρκος. The other manuscript, in the Dochiariu monastery (no. 52), has lost the portraits of two of the Evangelists, but still retains the image of Matthew, with an

¹ Ciampini's copy of the mosaic is reproduced in Garrucci, *Storia dell' Arte cristiana*, IV, pl. 239.

² J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 2d ed., London, 1912, p. 62.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 224 ff.

⁴ The same distribution is used on the Russian doors reproduced in Likhatcheff (*op. cit.* pl. 145), and the man is added for Matthew.

indeterminate bird ("probably an eagle," says Brockhaus) painted on the opposite page, and of Luke, opposite whom appears the calf. Both of the symbols are nimbed and carry golden books. The bird is inscribed with the puzzling word **ΞΙΤΟ**, while **ΒΟC** is written beside the figure of the calf. The first of these manuscripts is included among the undated manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries by Brockhaus, and the second is dated definitely in the twelfth century by Lambros.¹

From this it is apparent that in the twelfth century the Byzantine miniaturists not only used the symbols on occasion but distributed them differently than in the West, and without a fixed association of symbol with Evangelist, save perhaps in the case of the calf and Luke. The eagle in the Vatopedi manuscript stands for Mark, while in the gospels of Dochiariu it represents Matthew. In the light of this evidence, and the fact that, explained as "inspiration types," our symbols would be inconsistent with the usual treatment of such types in Byzantine art, I feel assured that the artist intended his bird and man as symbols of Mark and John. The bird is certainly not a successful attempt at an eagle, but we cannot expect too much in Byzantine animal painting at this period, and it is hardly more convincing as a dove. It will be remembered moreover that the eagle of the Dochiariu manuscript seems to have impressed Brockhaus as an unconvincing bird, and we have the use of the eagle as Mark's symbol in the gospels of Vatopedi as a parallel to the Freer miniature. The latter and its fellow must therefore be accepted as examples of a very rare motif in Byzantine art.

Are we to ascribe the late appearance of the Evangelist symbols in Byzantine painting to Western influence? The main consideration to be urged for this would be the fact that they are typical of Western art, while there is no tradition in Byzantine to account for them. The Latin label **ΒΟC**, *bos*, for the calf of Luke in the gospel of Dochiariu points in the same direction. But on the other hand, if we were dealing with a borrowed type, we should expect the symbols to be distributed as they are in the West, whereas they are used in a very unsettled manner, and not as a rule with the Western distribution: It is hardly possible therefore to cite the use of the symbols as evidence of the problematic Western strain in late Byzantine art.

¹ *Cat. I*, p. 238, no. 2726.52.

iii. THE DESCENT FROM THE CROSS — PLATE VI

The *recto* of the leaf which contains on its *verso* the portrait of St. John is decorated with a miniature representing the Descent from the Cross, the final illustration of Luke. The colors are indicated by the facsimile. The upper transverse piece of the Cross represents the *titulus* which Pilate placed above the head of the Crucified: *Iesus Nazareus Rex Iudaeorum*. Christ's feet rest as usual upon the *suppedaneum*. Joseph of Arimathea, standing on a stool, clasps the dead body of the Lord. To the left we see Mary Magdalen and the Virgin, who stands like a statue on a pedestal, and presses the hand of her dead Son to her cheek. Nicodemus climbs a step-ladder and removes the nail from Christ's left hand, while the Beloved Disciple below bends above the *suppedaneum* to wipe the blood from the feet of his Master.¹

The scene is not an early one in Christian art, and first appears, so far as I know, in the famous Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus of the ninth century, which is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Fig. 19, 1).² The composition is that of the Freer miniature in a primitive stage of its evolution. Nicodemus³ has no ladder, and is placed on the left side of the cross, while John stands with the Virgin to the right, in place of the Magdalen. Further on to the right appears the following scene, Joseph and Nicodemus carrying off the body for burial. The next stage of development is to be seen in a Gospel of the same library,⁴ wherein Nicodemus stands on a ladder, and Joseph of Arimathea on a stool; St. John takes his position to the right of the cross, while the Virgin to the left is

¹ The background and nimbus of the Christ were originally gold, with a green ground-strip at the bottom of the picture. The Marys wore violet mantles over undergarments which seem to have been blue. Joseph of Arimathea wears a brownish pink pallium, and Nicodemus' tunic is violet. The cross is striped with brown and black. The colors of John's garments and of the loin-cloth of Christ are indeterminate.

² Ms. gr. 510, fol. 30, *verso*, Omont, *Fac-similés des Miniatures des Mss. grecs de la Bibl. Nat.*, pl. XXI.

³ I have used the name Nicodemus for convenience. It is scarcely likely, however, that the earlier artists who dressed the man removing the nails in a simple tunic meant to represent the patrician Nicodemus, and probably we are to suppose him present only when the pallium is added to his costume, as in the examples of the thirteenth century.

⁴ Ms. gr. 74, Omont, *Évangile avec peintures byzantines du XI^e siècle*, pl. 52. This manuscript contains also a second rendering of the scene which is a primitive form of the later type described on p. 44.

accompanied by the Magdalen and the other Mary (Fig. 19, 2). The carrying of the body follows as before to the right.

In the incised design of one of the panels of the bronze doors of St. Paul's at Rome (late eleventh century, Fig. 19, 3), the composition has finally arrived at a form closely resembling that of the Freer miniature, though the sides are again reversed. Here we have angels introduced above the cross, a motif derived from the Crucifixion. Joseph of Arimathea appears behind the body

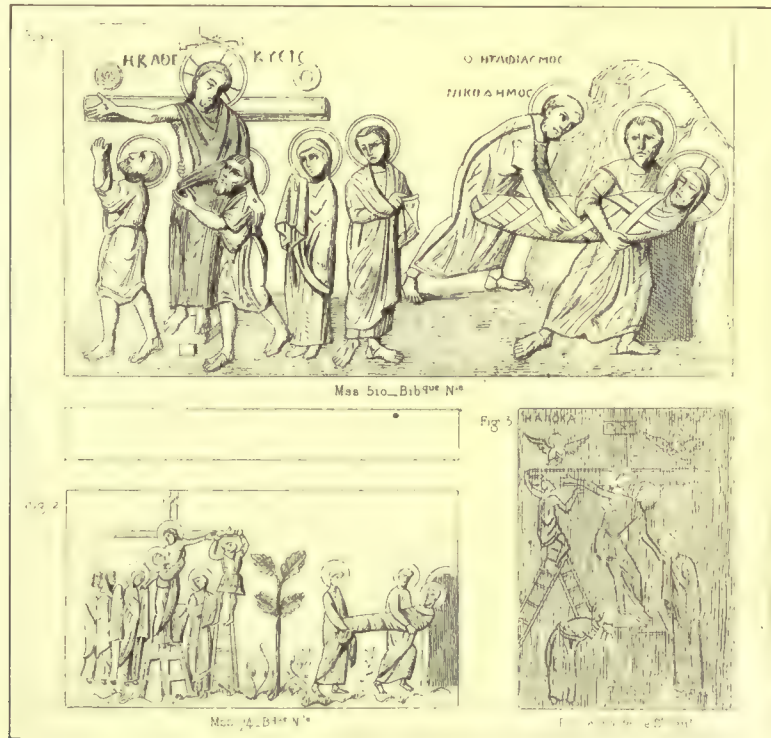


FIG. 19. EXAMPLES OF THE DESCENT FROM THE CROSS, SHOWING THE EVOLUTION OF ITS ICONOGRAPHY FROM THE NINTH TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

of the Lord, but again stands upon a footstool or pedestal, and two other motifs of the Freer Descent from the Cross are present, the gesture of Mary as she presses the hand of her Son to her cheek, and that of John who bends to wipe the blood from the feet of Christ. In the early twelfth century we find the scene represented in the Melissenda Psalter of the British Museum (Fig. 20), where the composition is simplified, and John replaces the Magdalen at the Virgin's side. Next after this must be placed the Freer miniature, which combines the compositions of

the Psalter and the doors of St. Paul's, except that Nicodemus wears a sleeved tunic instead of the *exomis* of the Psalter, while Mary stands upon a pedestal, and is accompanied by the Magdalen.

The Freer scene is typical of the Byzantine decadence in its contradictions—the circumstantial details and the spirited movement of Nicodemus contrasting with the mannered attitude of

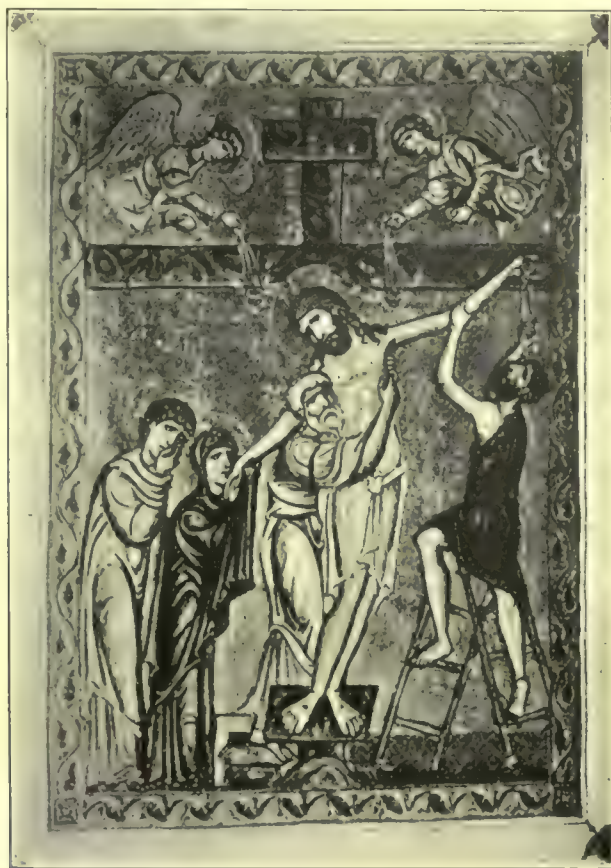


FIG. 20. THE DESCENT FROM THE CROSS. MINIATURE OF THE MELISSEDA PSALTER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Mary and the artificial effect of the pedestal on which she stands. The feature which clearly puts the Freer miniature later than the Psalter is the omission of the angels, which seldom appear in the later versions; thus they are omitted in a gospel of the Iviron monastery on Mt. Athos¹ which Brockhaus dates "ungefähr

¹ Iviron 5 (Brockhaus, *op. cit.* p. 217 ff.). Cf. the similar composition on the doors of the cathedrals of Trani and Ravello in South Italy (Schulz, *Denkmäler der Kunst in Unteritalien*, pl. xxv). These doors date in the latter half of the twelfth century. The transi-

aus dem 12. Jahrhundert." Here also two more distinctive features of the later composition are met with — the arms of Christ are both detached from the cross, and Nicodemus applies his pincers to the nails in the feet. Joseph clasps the body of Christ as before, but, with a curious effort at realism, his body is protected from the flowing blood by a towel worn over the shoulder.



FIG. 21. THE DESCENT FROM THE CROSS, FROM DUCCIO'S ALTAR-PIECE.

The Virgin is depicted as before, pressing Christ's hand to her cheek, but is now accompanied not only by the Magdalen but also by the other Mary. To the right stands St. John, who has given up his former position to Nicodemus. Lastly, below the cross, appears a white mass which is probably meant to represent Adam's skull, with symbolic reference to the name of Golgotha.

tional nature of the theme as here treated is shown by the presence of the angels, though the body of Christ is detached from the cross. On a steatite carving in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican (Muñoz, *op. cit.* fig. 86) the body is detached, stars replace the angels, Joseph of Arimathea, standing behind Christ, clasps His body, and Nicodemus removes the nails from the feet. Such a rendering of the scene should serve to date the monument circ. 1200.

The whole composition is repeated in a Gospel in Paris of the thirteenth century,¹ and is the source of later representations, as may be seen from Duccio's rendering in his famous altar-piece at Siena (Fig. 21).² The intermediate character of the Freer miniature gives it unusual importance in the development of Byzantine iconography, and, as will be apparent later on, is of great value in determining the date of the manuscript from which it was taken.

IV. THE DESCENT INTO HELL — PLATE VII

Folio III *recto* is the next page in order. While the increased damage to the corner shows that the leaf was some distance further on in the original codex, the miniature in question was without much doubt the first after the initial page of John's Gospel, for this is the position regularly occupied by the Descent into Hell.³ The curious connection with John was due to the fact that the lection for Easter in the Greek church was taken from the fourth Gospel, and the corresponding pictorial type was not the Risen Christ, but the Descent into Hell. The Painter's Manual (see p. 20) indeed gives circumstantial directions for painting the Resurrection, but it is nevertheless a fact that the subject is rare in Byzantine art of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, and absent entirely in the mosaics and frescoes of the churches of that period.⁴ The theological considerations

¹ Bibl. Nat. Ms. gr. 54 fol. 107 *recto* (Bordier, *op. cit.* p. 230, fig. 121). A similar treatment, omitting Mary's companions and the skull, is seen on an ivory of the Chalandon collection in Paris, dating in the thirteenth century (E. Molinier, *Mon. et Mém. Fond. Piot.* 1896, p. 126, fig. 1).

² A curious variant of the fourteenth century is found at Mistra in the Peribleptos (Millet, *Mon. byz. de Mistra*, pl. 122, 3). In this fresco the Magdalen holds the hand of Christ, and both the Virgin and Joseph clasp the body in their arms. Above the cross are weeping angels. Here also the Virgin stands upon a stool. The fresco is much like the scene described in the Painter's Manual.

³ The color scheme is indicated by the facsimile. Christ wears a sleeved tunic of reddish color which is probably the priming for the same gilding that originally covered the pallium. Eve has a blue under-garment and a mantle of red. Adam wears a violet pallium. David's tunic was red, and his pallium blue, bordered with gold. The details of Solomon's costume cannot be determined. The sarcophagus in which Adam kneels is colored brownish pink, and streaked with purple, while that of the kings was originally blue. Below the sarcophagi on either side is the usual green ground-strip. The Pit of Hell is black, and the gates gold, which was of course the original color of the background.

⁴ Cf. Brockhaus, *op. cit.* p. 132. It occurs in a ninth century Psalter of the Pantocrator monastery on Mt. Athos (*ibid.* p. 198).

MOTIF	VI CENT.	VIII CENT.	IX CENT.	X CENT.	1000-1050	1050-1100	1100-1150	1150-1200	XIV CENT.
CHRIST moves toward Adam	Cilbor.	Chap. John VII	S. Mar. Ant.	Chck. enam.	Sogh anli Ivir, 1	Daphni	Par. 541 Ivir, 5 Harl. 1810		Peribl.
surrounded by glory			Chlud. Ps.	Sogh anli Ivir, 1	Add. 19352		Par. 541		Peribl.
takes Adam by hand, but moves in opposite direction				Siena enam.	Par. 75 St. Luke St. Sophia at Kiev (mosaic)	St. Mark Torcello	Med. Ps. Vat. Urb. 2. Pala d' Oro Harl. 1810	Trani Freer Min.	
holds roll			S. Mar. Ant.		Add. 19352				Peribl.
holds garment	Cilbor.			Chck. enam.					
holds cross				Siena enam.	St. Luke Par. 75	St. Mark Daphni Torcello	Med. Ps. Ivir. 5 Harl. 1810 Par. 541	Trani Monreale Freer Min.	
tramples Hades	Cilbor. (bust of S. tan added)	Chap. John VII?	S. Mar. Ant. Pantokrator, 61	Sogh anli Par. Ps. 20	Add. 19352			Monreale	
tramples Satan and gates				Ivir. 1		Daphni Torcello St. Mark			
tramples gates only				Chck. enam. Ms. Athens, 213	Par. 75 St. Luke		Pala d' Oro Med. Ps. Ivir. 5 Harl. 1810	Trani Freer Min.	
SATAN white						Daphni Torcello			
black						St. Mark		Monreale	
chained				Ms. St. Peters- burg, 21		Daphni St. Mark	Vat. Urb. 2		
GATES CROSSED				Siena enam.	Par. 75	Daphni St. Mark	Par. 541 Med. Ps. Pala d' Oro Harl. 1810	Monreale Trani Freer Min.	

ONESIDED COMPOSITION	Cibor.	Chap. John VII	S. Mar. Ant. Child. Ps. Pantokrator, 61
SYMMETRICAL COMPOSITION			
ADAM and Eve	Cibor.	Chap. John VII	S. Mar. Ant. Child. Ps. Pantokrator, 61
and Eve, symmetrically arranged on either side of Christ, heading throngs of Just.			
and Eve, with throng of Just, on one side of Christ			
with David and Solomon to left of Christ, John Baptist heading throng of Just on opposite side.			
DAVID & SOLOMON			
with Baptist			
with throng of Just			
FLYING FOLD IN CHRIST'S MANTLE			
ANGELS			

FIG. 22. CONTOUR MAP OF THE PSEUDO INO ILL.

which gave the Descent into Hell its place in the Creed also made it the symbol of Christ's Resurrection in its fullest meaning, as insuring the deliverance of the Just from spiritual death, not only after, but before the Incarnation. Thus the conception of Christ trampling the gates of Hell, and raising up the Just that had gone before in the persons of Adam and Eve and the Kings of Israel, became the customary typological rendering of the Risen Lord, the pictorial embodiment of Easter. Hence the label which the scene bears in Byzantine art, ἡ ἀνάστασις, 'the Resurrection.'

The Descent into Hell is described in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus.¹ According to this story, the Baptist went first into Hell to announce the coming of Christ. Suddenly there was a cry "Lift up your gates, ye princes; and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting gates; and the King of Glory shall come in."² Then Christ burst asunder the gates of Hell, bound Satan, and trampled him under foot. "Father Adam," falling at the feet of Christ, was raised erect, and Mother Eve in like manner, and Christ set His Cross "as a sign of victory" in the midst of Hades.

The motif of Christ's entry presented certain essential elements for the pictorial representation—Christ trampling on Satan, the broken gates of Hell, the raising of Adam and Eve, the Cross—to which the artists gradually added elements drawn from other parts of the story, like John the Baptist, David and Solomon, and others of the Just, and the tombs from which the dead are resurrected. The genesis and evolution of the scene in Byzantine art will be better understood with the help of the accompanying iconographical table³ (Fig. 22).

The monuments cited in the table by no means comprise all those representing the theme, but are a typical list. There follow the works in which the most important are described or reproduced, arranged in the order of the dates of the monuments.

¹ Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. 389 ff.

² Ps. xxiv, 7. The phraseology of Psalms is apparent throughout the recital, which doubtless accounts for the prominence of David in the artistic representations, in spite of the minor rôle that he plays in the text; this explains also the frequent use of the scene in the illustrated Psalters (cf. Millet, *Mon. et Mém. Fond. Piot*, 1895, p. 209).

³ For discussions of the iconography of the Descent into Hell, see Millet, *Mon. et Mém. Fond. Piot*, 1895, pp. 204-214; Diehl, *Mosaïques byzantines de Saint-Luc*, *ibid.* 1896, pp. 232-236; Rushforth, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, I, pp. 114-119.

CENTURY	MONUMENT	DESCRIBED OR REPRODUCED BY	ABBREV.
VI	Ciborium columns of St. Mark's, Venice.	Venturi, <i>Storia dell'arte italiana</i> , I, fig. 266.	Cibor.
VIII	Mosaic of Chapel of John VII. Old St. Peter's.	Garrucci, <i>Storia dell'arte crist.</i> IV, pl. 280. 8.	Chap. John VII
IX	Fresco, S. Maria Antiqua, Rome.	Rushforth, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 116, fig. 9. Fig. 23.	S. Mar. Ant.
	Mt. Athos. Ms. Pantokrator, 61.	Brockhaus, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 177.	Pantokrator, 61
	Chludoff Psalter.	Kondakoff, <i>Miniatures of a Greek Psalter in Chludoff Coll.</i> (Russian), pl. x, 3.	Chlud. Ps.
X	Psalter, Paris, Bibl. Nat. gr. 20.	Bordier, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 98.	Par. Ps. 20
	Chekmukmedi enamel.	Kondakoff, <i>Les émaux byzantins</i> , fig. 43.	Chek. enam.
X or XI	Fresco, Soghanli, Asia Minor.	Diehl, <i>Manuel</i> , p. 538, fig. 260.	Soghanli
	Enamelled book cover, Siena (Biblioteca).	Labarte, <i>Hist. des Arts Industr.</i> Album, II, pl. CI.	Siena enam.
XI	Mosaic, St. Luke in Phocis.	Diehl, <i>Mon. et Mém. Fond. Piot.</i> 1896, pl. xxiv.	St. Luke
	Mt. Athos. Ms. Iviron 1.	Brockhaus, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 225.	Ivir. 1
	Mosaic, St. Mark's, Venice.	Fig. 25.	St. Mark
	Brit. Mus. Ms. Add. 19352.	Rushforth, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 117, fig. 10.	Add. 19352
	Gospel, Paris, Bibl. Nat. gr. 75.	Bordier, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 137.	Par. 75
	Mosaic, Monastery of Daphni.	Millet, <i>Le Monastère de Daphni</i> , pl. xxv. Fig. 24.	Daphni
	Mosaic, Cath. of Torcello.	Dalton, <i>Byz. Art. & Archaeology</i> , fig. 427.	Torcello
c. 1100	Pala d' Oro (High Altar of St. Mark's, Venice), enamel.	Boito, <i>Tesoro di S. Marco</i> , pl. xv.	Pala d' Oro
XII	Melissenda Psalter. Brit. Mus.	Herbert, <i>Illuminated Manuscripts</i> , pl. vi. Fig. 27.	Mel. Ps.
	Commentary on Gregory Naz. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ms. gr. 541.	Bordier, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 185.	Par. 541
	Gospel in Brit. Mus. Ms. Harl. 1810.	Dalton, <i>op. cit.</i> fig. 157.	Harl. 181
	Monreale Cathedral, Mosaic.	Gravina, <i>Duomo di Monreale</i> , pl. 20 B.	Monreale
	Mt. Athos, Tetraevangelon. Iviron 5.	Brockhaus, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 217.	Ivir. 5
	Bronze Doors of Trani and Ravello Cathedrals, South Italy.	Schulz, <i>Denkmäler der Kunst in Unteritalien</i> , pl. xxiii.	Trani
XIV	Fresco, Peribleptos church, Mistra.	Millet, <i>Mon. byz. de Mistra</i> , pl. 116, 3. Fig. 26.	Peribl.

The most obvious aspect of the evolution of the type is the change from the one-sided composition of *S. Maria Antiqua* (Fig. 23), depicting the Raising of Adam and Eve, to the symmetrical one, wherein others partake of the Resurrection and the figure of Christ is flanked on either side by groups of personages representing the Just, revived and delivered from Hell by the power of the Cross. The change presents itself timidly in the Chekmukmedi enamel, where David and Solomon are represented rising from a sarcophagus in the upper left-hand corner of the



FIG. 23. THE DESCENT INTO HELL. FRESCO
IN *S. MARIA ANTIQUA*, ROME.

Christ tramples a prostrate figure personifying Hades, and raises Adam from the tomb. Behind Adam stands Eve.

scene, opposite the figures of Adam and Eve. The composition becomes rigidly symmetrical in *Iviron 5*, where Christ stands between two throngs of the Just, headed respectively by Adam and Eve, but the more usual rendering, wherein Christ raises Adam by the hand, but moves in the opposite direction to him, toward David and Solomon, is already present in the *Siena* enamel (10th–11th century). Other figures are added to the lateral groups in the course of the eleventh century, but this period is transitional and formative in the history of the composition, and includes such divergent examples as the

extremely simple mosaic of *St. Luke* in *Phocis*, the elaborate scene in *Torcello* cathedral, and the exceptional variant of *Daphni* (Fig. 24). The Hades of the early examples, trampled beneath the feet of Christ, becomes Satan enchained, is transformed into the orthodox black imp of Byzantine art, as at *St. Mark's* in *Venice* (Fig. 25), and finally disappears in the twelfth century. The gates of Hell, crossed in the *Siena* enamel, are not always so represented in the eleventh century (*St. Luke*, *Iviron 1*, *Torcello*), and only become regularly crossed in the twelfth. The later development is seen in the *Peribleptos* church at *Mistra*, where Christ is enveloped in an elliptical glory, David and Solomon are accompanied by the Baptist

and a number of other figures, and Adam and Eve appear at the head of a throng of patriarchs and prophets (Fig. 26). Still later the church frescoes and the Painter's Manual add the fancy of angels enchainng devils, names for the minor *dramatis personae*, etc. The treatment of the scene in Russia ranges from the simplicity of the



FIG. 24. THE DESCENT INTO HELL. MOSAIC IN THE MONASTERY OF DAPHNI NEAR ATHENS.

twelfth century scheme to an elaborate panorama of Hell of the kind seen in an ikon in the Likhatcheff collection at St. Petersburg.¹

Our miniature, by virtue of its symmetrical composition, the omission of Satan, and the crossed gates, finds its closest parallels in the twelfth century, and particularly in the Melissenda Psalter (Fig. 27). Christ raises the kneeling Adam from his sarcophagus

¹ Likhatcheff, *op. cit.* pl. 286. Cf. also pl. 265.



FIG. 25. MOSAIC IN ST. MARK'S, VENICE.

Above, the Descent into Hell; below, Christ and the Holy Women and the Doubting of Thomas.

tomb, and strides across the gates of Hell. Eve stands beside Adam, and to the right we can discern the figures of David and Solomon. Behind them we may perhaps supply the figure of John the Baptist, who is regularly present from the beginning of the eleventh century. The iconography of the picture thus dates it in the twelfth century, or later.



FIG. 26. THE DESCENT INTO HELL. FRESCO
IN THE PERIBLEPTOS CHURCH AT MISIRA.



FIG. 27. THE DESCENT INTO HELL. MINIATURE OF THE
MELISSEDA PSALTER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

V. THE DOUBTING OF THOMAS — PLATE VIII

The verso of Folio III is occupied by a miniature representing the Doubting of Thomas, the second illustration of the Gospel of John. The ground strip is green, and the field of the miniature, as well as the doors behind Christ, was originally gold. Traces of the same color remain upon the reddish brown priming of the tunic worn by Christ, over which is draped a blue pallium. The disciples wear blue and violet tunics and pallia, with an alternating distribution of the colors. Above the doors, against which is outlined the figure of Christ, and the slanting roof to the right, is the remnant of an inscription in red letters. One would expect this to be the phrase which regularly labels the scene in Byzantine art: ΤΩΝ ΘΥΡΩΝ ΚΕΚΛΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ, 'the doors being shut,' with which words John (xx. 19) emphasizes the sudden and miraculous appearance of the resurrected Christ among the disciples. The two letters which remain, however, seem to be ON, thus forming no part of the phrase unless we suppose a blunder on the part of the artist. The disciples are grouped in the spaces under the sloping roofs to right and left, Peter heading the group to the right, while Thomas on the other side steps forward and places his finger on the wound which the Saviour has uncovered by raising His right arm.

The incident, recorded only by John, is not common in Byzantine art, and is exceedingly rare in the illustration of the Gospels. It occurs perhaps in a fifth century fragment of a sarcophagus in the museum of Ravenna, on which we see a youthful unbearded Christ, half turned to the left, raising His right arm, while the disciple standing beside Him faces outward and extends his right hand toward Christ's left side.¹ A more positive rendering of the incident occurs on a sarcophagus of S. Celso in Milan,² dating about 400, on which we see Christ baring His right side with up-raised arm, and Thomas stepping forward from the left to touch the wound. He is accompanied by only one of the other disciples. The "Thomas scenes" which have been pointed out in a mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna (sixth century), on an ivory of the British Museum, and in a miniature of a Munich

¹ S. Muratori, *N. Bull. d'Archeologia crist.* 1911, pp. 34-58.

² Garrucci, *op. cit.* V, pl. 315, 5.

manuscript of the ninth century, are too uncertain in character to be cited as indications of the evolution of the type.¹

The earliest example of the scene on record in which all twelve of the disciples were represented was a mosaic in Justinian's church of the Apostles in Constantinople.² The church was destroyed by the Turks in the fifteenth century, but the description of Mesarites gives us a vivid idea of its splendid decoration as it appeared in the twelfth century. According to this account, the mosaic represented Christ and His disciples in a house with closed doors. Christ, in the centre of the group, bared His side, and Thomas, ashamed and hesitating, but urged forward by his companions, touched the wound. The Saviour seemed to shrink, the Byzantine writer tells us, from the touch of His disciple. A picture of the same general character is found on one of the reliefs of the Monza phials, which date about 600,³ and in a fragmentary fresco of S. Maria Antiqua⁴ of the eighth century. A rather original rendering of this type of composition is to be seen in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal at Paris,⁵ of the eleventh century. Here Christ stands to the right of the picture and raises His right arm, but seems to shrink from the insistent finger of Thomas, who approaches from the left. A group of three disciples stands behind him. No background is given. By the end of the eleventh century the scene had reached the form thereafter accepted, as we see it in the mosaics of St. Mark's at Venice (Fig. 25), and on the bronze doors of St. Paul's at Rome.⁶ The tendency toward symmetry, the most constant factor in Byzantine art, arranged the disciples in groups on either side of Christ, who always stands on a flight of steps, in front of the "closed doors." The figure of the Saviour shrinks no more from the hand of Thomas, but stands erect and immobile, with the statuesque dignity that makes the subject so impressive in all its subsequent renderings. St. Thomas approaches from the left and touches the wound in Christ's right side. The same composition,

¹ Cf. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, II, p. 264, note 4.

² Heisenberg, *op. cit.* II, p. 264.

³ Garrucci, *op. cit.* VI, pl. 434, 6. A similar representation is found on a lead ampulla in the British Museum (*Dalton, Byz. Art & Archaeology*, fig. 399).

⁴ Gröneisen, *Ste. Marie Antique*, fig. 118.

⁵ No. 33 c. Rohault de Fleury, *L'Évangile*, pl. xcvi, 3.

⁶ Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.* pl. xcvi, 1. Also in mosaics of St. Luke in Phocis, Daphni, and St. Sophia at Kiev.

with unimportant variations of background, is used throughout the twelfth century (Melissenda Psalter, mosaic in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, Monreale), and continues in late Byzantine painting, appearing with the usual late Byzantine addition of architectural detail, in the fourteenth century frescoes of the Peribleptos church at Mistra,¹ in Duccio's altar-piece at Siena, and in the Painter's Manual. Our miniature, therefore, conforms to the iconography of the scene as established in the eleventh century, and traditional after that period.

vi. CHRIST AND THE HOLY WOMEN — PLATE IX

Folio IV *recto* is adorned with a miniature whose ruined condition makes it difficult of interpretation until we compare a better preserved example of the same scene in a gospel of Mt. Athos² (Ivion 5, Fig. 28). In this manuscript the miniature occupies a place at the beginning of the twenty-eighth chapter of Matthew, and illustrates the meeting of "Mary Magdalen and the other Mary" with Jesus, having particular reference to the words: "And they came and held him by the feet and worshipped him." The episode is depicted in our miniature in a fashion practically identical with that of the Athos manuscript, except that the horizon line is lower, and the figure of Jesus is larger in proportion to the size of the women. The Saviour's tunic is painted in with a yellow wash, originally overlaid with gold. His pallium was blue. The woman kneeling to the right wears a reddish garment. The background was originally gold. The ground-strip is the usual green, and the green cones to right and left are the remains of trees — very conventional trees — which indicate the garden of the Holy Sepulchre.

The theme is not common, save in late frescoes,³ and its earliest appearance is on an ivory in the treasury of Milan cathedral, of the fifth or sixth century,⁴ wherein the two women kneel to

¹ Millet, *Mon. byz. de Mistra*, pl. 121, 1. Cf. also the rendering in the Chapel of St. John, *ibid.* pl. 106, 3.

² Brockhaus, *op. cit.* p. 217 ff.

³ On Mt. Athos it occurs in the frescoes of the Protaton (circa 1300), of Kutlumusi (1540), of Dionysiu (1547), and of the cloister church of Lavra. No examples at Mistra are recorded by Millet. Another example in manuscript illumination is the miniature of a Greek gospel in the Public Library at St. Petersburg (Likhatcheff, *op. cit.* pl. 353).

⁴ Garrucci, *op. cit.* VI, pl. 450, 2.



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the left of Christ. Between them and the standing figure of the Saviour rises a tree. In the Rabulas Gospel (586) the garden is indicated by trees and the two women kneel to the right of the risen Lord. A lost mosaic of the Apostles' church seems to have resembled our miniature at least in the one respect that the two women bowed their heads to the feet of Christ.¹ In the Tri-



FIG. 28. CHRIST AND THE HOLY WOMEN. MINIATURE OF A GOSPEL IN THE IVIRON MONASTERY ON MT. ATHOS: IVIRON 5.

vulzio ivory,² Christ is seated on a rock to the left of the open tomb. The women appear to the right, one kneeling, the other half erect, stooping forward with outstretched hands. The ninth-century manuscript of Gregory Nazianzenus in the Bibliothèque Nationale indicates the garden by trees and again depicts the women in differing attitudes, one prostrate at Christ's feet, the

¹ Heisenberg, *op. cit.* II, p. 259.

² Garrucci, *op. cit.* VI, pl. 449, 2.

other half upright.¹ This distinction is maintained for a time in the more symmetrical representations of the later period, and the evolution of the composition into the hieratic type of the Freer miniature was only a gradual one. Thus in the mosaic of St. Mark's at Venice, of the late eleventh century (Fig. 25), we find a composition essentially the same as that of our miniature and of Ivron 5, but lacking the schematic symmetry of the twelfth century. The garden has two little hillocks and several trees, and the women are not yet prostrate on the ground. The woman to the left retains a posture more nearly upright than that of the figure on the right. The St. Mark's version occurs again in a mosaic of Monreale, of the latter half of the twelfth century, wherein the earlier and freer type is reflected, but the garden has already dwindled to two trees. Ivron 5, also of the twelfth century, shows a still more schematic composition, in which the symmetry is complete except that a souvenir of the earlier position of the woman on the left remains in the lifted head. Finally, the Freer miniature represents the most advanced degree of formality, and cannot be distant in date from the Athos manuscript, so close is the resemblance of the two.

vii. MADONNA AND SAINTS — PLATE X

The *verso* of fol. IV contains a charming figure of the Madonna, standing on a low pedestal, holding the Child on her left arm, and flanked by two bishop saints carrying books, whose identity, in view of the condition of the miniature, it would be useless to attempt to determine. The Virgin originally wore a violet mantle above her undergarment, which is drawn over her head in a veil. The bishops on either side also had violet pallia, and their *omophoria* or stoles show traces of black and gold. The background was once the usual gold.

The Virgin apparently holds the Child with both hands and bends her head to His in a graceful attitude of motherly solicitude. The human quality of the group gives our Madonna considerable importance as one, at least, of the earliest examples of the "tender" Virgin. The Byzantine type² throughout the

¹ Omont, *Fac-similés des miniatures de Mss. grecs. de la Bibl. Nat.*, pl. XXI.

² Exception must be made of the remarkable sixth century Madonna at Kiev (Muñoz, *op. cit.* fig. 5) and some Coptic examples.

earlier period, in the twelfth century, and frequently even in later times, was a thoroughly hieratic conception of the Mother and Child, both being represented in frontal attitude, usually gazing directly at the spectator, the Virgin holding her head erect. The humanizing droop of the head was introduced into Italian art by the Tuscans of the thirteenth century, and the transformation of the type in Byzantine art is usually ascribed to the same period. As our manuscript cannot be placed later than 1200, its Madonna possesses an historical interest quite as great as her indubitable charm.

viii. JOHN THE BAPTIST AND THE VIRGIN?

Folio V, *recto*, contains the remains of a group of two saints. There is so little left of the painting that I hesitate to identify the figures, but it seems likely that they represent St. John the Baptist and the Virgin. The irregular outlines of the garment worn by the figure on the left indicate the mantle of skins characteristic of the Baptist, and the figure to the right is dressed, so far as one can determine, like a woman. But conjecture is futile in the face of the ruined condition of the painting. There is no miniature on the *verso* page.

ix. DATE AND VALUE OF THE MINIATURES

The date of this series of miniatures has so frequently been suggested during the course of the preceding discussion that it needs few words of further definition. The text points to the thirteenth century, but is not inconsistent with the second half of the twelfth, and the style and iconography clearly indicate the period last named as the time when the manuscript was illustrated. An earlier date would probably be inconsistent with the use of the Evangelistic symbols, and certainly with the text. The introduction of scenes unusual in Gospel illustration, like the Appearance to the Holy Women and the Doubting of Thomas, also points to a date subsequent to the earlier half of the twelfth century. Another indication of the same character is the curious combination of realism and convention which is often met with in later Byzantine art, and is here observable on the one hand in the pedestal on which the Madonna stands, and on the other in the motherly droop of her head.

The thirteenth century is an impossible date, for reasons quite as good. In the first place, manuscripts so profusely illustrated are rare in that period. Again, in the scenes of the Descent into Hell and the Doubting of Thomas, we have found our best parallels in monuments close to the year 1100, like the bronze doors of St. Paul's and Trani, the mosaics of St. Mark's and the Melissenda Psalter. Ivron 5, the manuscript which is so like ours in the rendering of the Appearance to the Holy Women, is dated by Brockhaus "about the twelfth century." Lastly we have the definite evidence of the iconography of the Descent from the Cross in favor of the latter half of the twelfth century, for the well-defined type of the thirteenth century requires that both arms of the Saviour be detached from the cross, and Nicodemus employed in removing the nails from His feet. The Freer miniature maintains the earlier form in which one hand is still nailed to the cross-bar, but shows a later phase of the theme by omitting the angels which appear above the cross in the Melissenda Psalter. The period between 1150 and 1200 is therefore the time when our miniatures were produced.

The compositions are quite consistent with this date. Between the creative Neo-Hellenic art of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries and the diffuse realism of the fourteenth, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries intervene as an epoch of simplification and fixation of types. The iconography often shows this, and we have seen how the twelfth century stereotyped the Descent into Hell, crossing the gates of Hell and omitting the figure of Satan. The episodes of the Melissenda Psalter reflect the same tendency toward abbreviation and convention, and it is precisely on this account that the Psalter and the Freer miniatures seem so closely related.

The latter have not escaped the conventionality of their time. The pedestal under the Virgin's feet in the Descent from the Cross and the "Madonna with Saints," and the hieratic rendering of the Appearance to the Holy Women, so marked in its dry contrast to the example of St. Mark's, are witness to an indifferent grasp of reality on the part of our artist. All the episodes are reduced to their lowest terms. The lanky figures, the uninventive drapery, with its broad, straight surfaces or minute and numerous folds, the feet which rest on nothing, the awkward attitudes, are indeed features which already are present in Byzantine painting of the eleventh century, but here appear in sharper relief. And

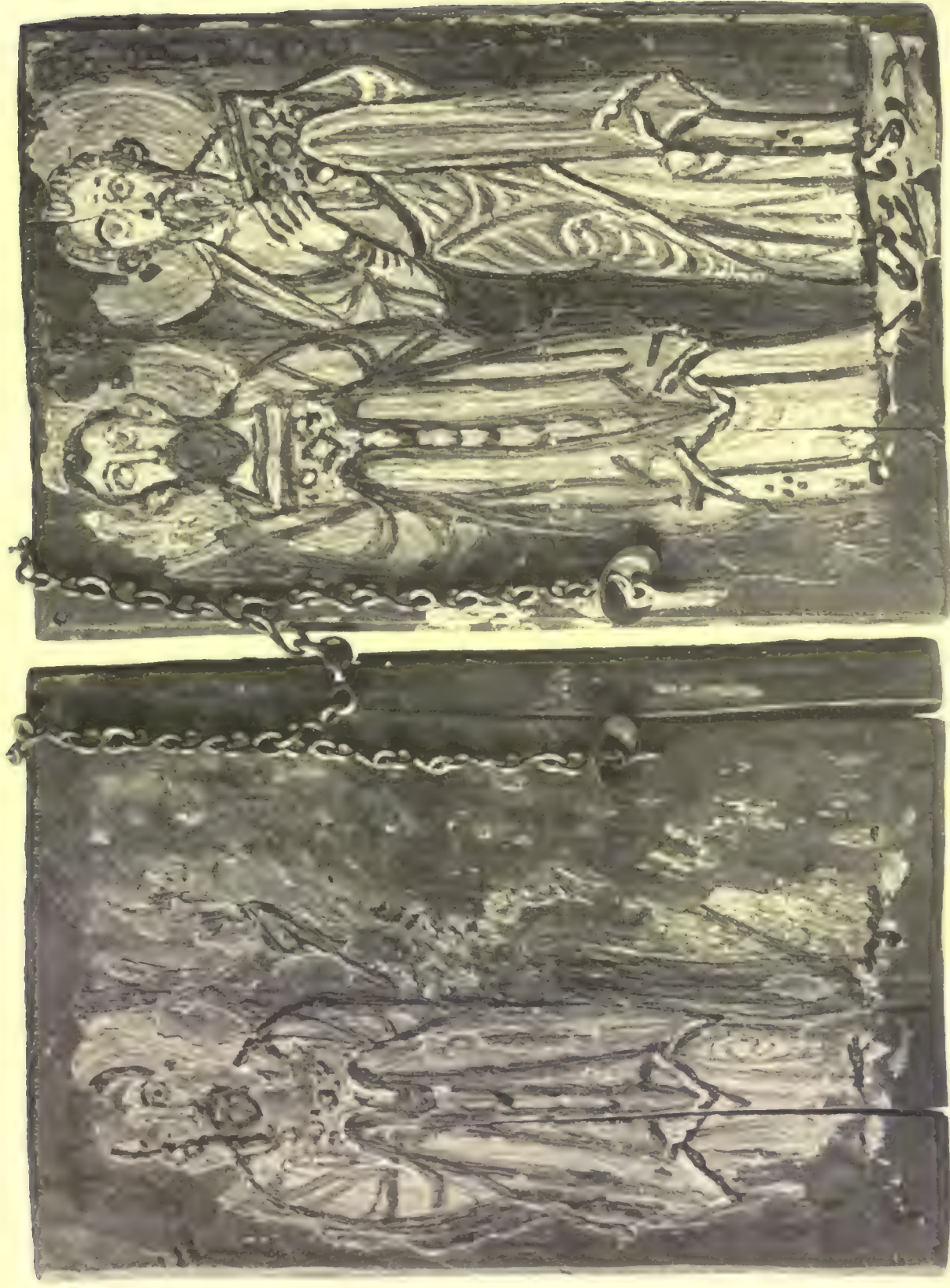
still there is in the very human rendering of the Madonna a premonition of the mundane style of the fourteenth century.

As a draughtsman our artist shows himself uneven, and like most East Christian painters, he relied on the usual thick overpainting to conceal his blunders. Thus he took two tries at the left foot of Joseph of Arimathea, and nodded decidedly in his drawing of Adam's left leg. His innocence of anatomy is apparent in the Christ of the Descent from the Cross, where he draws impossible knee-caps and repeats the summary rendering of the muscles of the breast and arm which was used in the mosaic Crucifixion of Daphni, a hundred years before. The attempt at the expression of sorrow on the face of Mary in the same scene has resulted in an unconvincing grimace.

Herein, however, he shows himself but the child of his time, and a comparison with the Melissenda Psalter and Ivron 5 will make it clear that he was above rather than below the average of the twelfth century. It must be remembered that Byzantine drawing, with its sweeping and confident lines produced by the practice of hundreds of years on unchanging compositions, is usually bolder in its preliminary stage than in the finished picture, after the application of the overcolor, since the latter conceals much of the detail of the design, and deprives the preliminary sketch of freshness and vivacity by rigid adherence to clean-cut contours. Consequently, it is somewhat unfair to compare our artist's best sketches, where the loss of the overpainting has revealed them, with the finished miniatures of the Melissenda Psalter. Yet there can be no doubt that the spirited figure of Nicodemus in the Descent from the Cross is in every way superior to that of the Psalter, and it is impossible to find in the twelfth century another Virgin so appealing as that which appears in the miniature of the Madonna and the Bishop-Saints. The artist and his manuscript were among the best of their time. The unusual scenes included in the surviving series betoken a large number in the original manuscript. Apparently the artist eschewed ornamental borders, but for richness and variety of illustration the gospel in its pristine state must have equalled, if it did not outrank, the existing Byzantine manuscripts of the twelfth century.

The disappearance of the overpainting makes our miniatures of unique assistance in determining the processes of Byzantine painting, and the technique of our artist is not hard to follow.

He drew his preliminary sketch on the parchment in an ink that has faded brown, using a pen or fine brush. After this a yellow priming or sizing was laid on to form a ground for the gold wherever this was to be used—in the background, on the foot-stools of the Evangelists or the Gates of Hell, or in the draperies of Christ, who always wears a blue pallium and a gilded tunic except in the Descent from the Cross, where He wears a loin-cloth of indeterminate color, and in the Descent into Hell, where both tunic and pallium show traces of gilding. The green ground-strip (gray-blue in the portrait of John) was probably the next thing to be painted in. Details in black were often added on the yellow sizing before the gold was applied, but the inscriptions seem to have been painted in minium on the gold itself. The latter has almost entirely disappeared, leaving the yellow sizing to indicate the portions of the miniatures that were originally gilded. After these preliminary steps the final color was laid on within the outlines of the sketch directly on the parchment. Shadows were obtained by deeper applications of the tone the artist happened to be using, along the lines of the preliminary drawing. The flesh color was a reddish yellow of much the same quality as the priming spoken of above. Hair and features were drawn in ink, and possibly afterwards reinforced with black. The final task of the artist was to correct and deepen with black the main contours, and to add such minor touches as the decorative details in gold and black, and the black with which he picked out the folds of Christ's gilded garments.



III. THE PAINTED COVERS OF THE WASHINGTON MANUSCRIPT OF THE GOSPELS

A DESCRIPTION of these interesting panels, together with a brief and tentative discussion of their date, was published by the present writer in the Introduction to the Facsimile of the Washington Manuscript.¹ In describing them here, therefore, it will be necessary only to summarize the account previously published, and to refer the reader, for details of color, to the two plates in the Facsimile which exactly reproduce the paintings.

The covers of the Washington Manuscript (Plate XI), which are now separated from the text, are two wooden panels, bevelled on the outer and the inner faces at top and bottom, and also on the sides in the case of the outer faces. The left-hand board, which is badly worn (Plate XII), varies in width from 14 cm. to 14.3 cm., and in length from 21 cm. to 21.3 cm. The right-hand board (Plate XIII) measures 14.3 cm. \times 21.3 cm. The thickness of the covers varies from 1 cm. to 1.6 cm.

The back binding consists of a leather backing applied over interlacing cords of the same material. The ends of these cords were inserted in twenty-six holes in the side of each cover, and fragments of the cords still remain in place. Their protruding ends were bound by a strip of cloth, about 2.5 cm. wide, pasted along the inner face of each board. Over this is pasted a parchment backing, covering the whole inner face.

Along the upper part of the right-hand edge of the left panel is a row of seven holes, and another row of the same number of holes runs along the lower part, leaving a space of about 7.5 cm. between the two rows. On the upper edge of the same cover is a row of ten holes. The other cover has no such holes in its edges, except one in the upper outer corner, corresponding to a hole similarly placed in the left cover. A fragment of a wooden peg, still remaining in the corner hole of the latter, shows that

¹ *Facsimile of the Washington Manuscript of the Four Gospels in the Freer Collection.* With an Introduction by Henry A. Sanders. The University of Michigan, 1913. See p. 83.

cords were once inserted in these holes, probably to tie the covers together when the book was not in use. The rows of holes in the left cover, not being repeated in the other panel, seem to have been used for the attachment of flaps with which to lift the left-hand cover, or of a casing of cloth which was folded about the book.

The metal chains attached by staples to the upper outer corners of the covers¹ were probably meant to keep the book from opening to its full extent, so as to prevent abrasion of the paintings. They are undoubtedly later additions to the book.

The covers were painted after the book was bound; for irregular traces of the yellow paint used in the border remain around the holes of the back binding and on the fragments of the leather cords, and, while the same color has invaded the space between the holes into which the binding cords are inserted, it stops short at the line of the binding itself.

The figures on the covers are the four Evangelists, depicted in the order in which their gospels appear in the manuscript,² Matthew and John on the left cover, Luke and Mark on the right. John's figure is almost entirely erased. Mark is labelled by an inscription placed vertically to the right of his figure: MAPKOC, and to the left of Luke may be seen the last two letters of his name: AC.

The painter used no priming and has left no traces of his preliminary outline. The green filling of the background was put in after the figures were drawn; the brush-strokes are guided by the contours of the figures. The strokes are crude and irregular, indicating a rough reed brush of the kind described by Gayet in his description of the processes of Coptic painting.³ The figures are painted in masses of ground color, and all the details of features, drapery, etc., including the hair and the black outlines of the figures, are overlaid upon this. The painting originally covered the entire panel, with a yellow border running around the edges, overlaid with a crude leaf design in green and greenish brown. The yellow was the poorest color in the painter's palette, and has peeled badly, particularly on the edges of the panels.

¹ The one attached to the left panel measures 15.3 cm.; the other 17.7 cm.

² Cf. Sanders, *The Washington Manuscript of the Four Gospels* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. 9, Part 1), p. 27.

³ *L'Art Copte*, p. 263.

Here it disappeared early and left a strip of bare wood which has weathered more than the rest of the panel, and thus gives the appearance of a border, especially on the left cover. The fugitive character of Coptic yellow was noticed by J. E. Quibell in his examination of the frescoes at Saqqara.¹ The detail colors are all very thickly laid on, and the same is true in less degree of the ground color. Heavy painting has caused the green background to shade almost to black in places, especially in the centre of each panel, where the brush-strokes up and down have mingled in a thick layer of paint.

The artist used a limited palette, —black, red, yellow, slate-blue, white and green. To Matthew and Luke he gives black hair, and clothes them in a white tunic, on which the shadows are brought out in blue, and a pinkish pallium, whose folds are produced in red. Both garments are outlined in black, and the tunic of Luke has black stripes and dots. Both Evangelists carry a yellow book, with details and edges in black, and jewels indicated with red. The color-scheme, drapery and attitude of the ruined figure of John must have been, as the remaining fragments show, practically identical with that of Mark: gray hair, white tunic with black stripes and dots, and shadows indicated in black and slate-blue; red pallium with white folds; yellow book with red jewels, and black dots and edges. Both tunic and pallium were outlined with heavy black contours, as in the case of the other Evangelists. Huge yellow haloes, originally outlined in white, adorn the heads of all four figures. The flesh-color is white, shaded with pink. Eyes, ears, mouth and nose are drawn in red, and the nostrils of Matthew and Mark are indicated by touches of black. The hand of Mark is outlined in black, with a trace of a red line along the wrist. The feet of the four saints are clad in sandals, summarily indicated by thickening the black contour of the pinkish white feet at the heel and toe.

The artist shows a tendency to mix his lights with the colors used in the shadows. Thus the flesh color of the faces is made pinkish by the admixture of the red details of the eyes and ears, and the pallia of Matthew and Luke are of a pinker hue by reason of the red folds. The slate-blue shadows have similarly qualified

¹ *Excavations at Saqqara, 1906-1907*, II, p. 66. But compare Clédat's description of the paintings at Bawit (in Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, s.v. Baoult, col. 232), where red and yellow are named as the most tenacious colors.

the white of the tunics. Practically identical colors and processes were employed in the wall-paintings at Saqqara, to judge from Quibell's description, particularly in the decoration of the north wall of Cell A in the monastery.¹ Here "four colors were used, black, yellow, slate blue, red, and for the flesh of the figure on the left, pink with a greenish mixture in the shadows. The figures were painted in with broad streaks of color and the black outline added last."

The portraits of the Evangelists afforded by our panels are of great value to the student of Coptic iconography, since they give us a series in which the several Evangelists can be identified, and in which the figures are well preserved or capable of restoration. According to our portraits Matthew and Luke were visualized in Egypt as men in the prime of life, with black hair and beards, while Mark partakes of the more advanced age of John, and is represented with gray hair, head slightly bald and long pointed beard. These types of the Evangelists are the ones usual in East Christian art,² with the important exception of Mark, where we have a portrait distinctly differing from the current one of Byzantine art, and amounting to a characteristic Coptic type.

In Byzantine painting the Evangelist is always a man in the prime of life with round full beard — a tradition that dates back to the sixth century and is represented by the portrait of Mark in the Codex Rossanensis (Fig. 15). The earliest Coptic monument I know which depicts the Evangelists is a relief in the Metropolitan Museum in New York,³ which can hardly be later than the fifth century. In the centre of the relief Christ is represented seated with twelve baskets of loaves at His right hand, arranged vertically in rows of four. Two angels stand at His left hand, and another beside the baskets. The subject is of course the

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 64. A quite similar palette was used at Deir-Abou-Hennes (Gayet, *op. cit.* p. 273).

² John is represented regularly throughout the fourth and fifth centuries as a young and beardless man. In later East Christian art he becomes an aged man when depicted as the Evangelist, and a young man when portrayed as an apostle. The differentiation of the Beloved Disciple from the aged writer of the fourth Gospel commences in the sixth century. For example, while in the sixth century mosaics of S. Vitale in Ravenna all four of the Evangelists are represented as men advanced in years, the medallion portraits of the Codex Rossanensis, of the same period, give John an aged appearance, but represent Matthew, Mark and Luke in the prime of life.

³ Ninth Egyptian Room: 10 . 176 . 21.



Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes, but the artist has added two seated figures holding books in their left hands at either end of the relief, which evidently are meant for the Evangelists. They are not, however, distinguished by labels or other attributes, and the heads are defaced.

So far as the Coptic type of Mark is concerned, the characteristic features which distinguish it from the Byzantine rendering were noticed by Strzygowski in his publication of a piece of Early Christian wood-sculpture from Egypt in the Berlin Museum.¹ Strzygowski cited the head of Mark on a wooden door (early tenth century) of the church El-Hadra in Deir es-Suriani to show the existence of a "Paul"-type of Mark in Coptic art, and argued therefrom that the Evangelist was also represented in the seated figure of a bald-headed man with a pointed beard, holding a book and surrounded by thirty-five ecclesiastics, in a carved ivory in the Louvre. He explained the thirty-five figures as the successors of Mark on the episcopal throne of Alexandria, which would date the piece in the reign of Anastasius, the thirty-sixth patriarch, who presided over the see from 607 to 609. The same type is used in a series of panels in the Museo Archeologico at Milan, and in a panel of the Victoria and Albert Museum, representing the Acts of St. Mark in the Pentapolis. It is a question, however, whether the last-named group is of Egyptian origin, or sufficiently early in date to count in this connection.² The Freer portrait is thus the first published monument definitely to confirm Strzygowski's contention of a distinctive type for the Evangelist in Coptic art, that is, a slightly bald and elderly man, with pointed beard, and much resembling the traditional portrait of Paul.

The date of the covers must be determined chiefly on the basis of style, but some evidence on this point is furnished by the manuscript itself, which shows traces of rebinding. There are, for instance, two cases of the sewing-in of half-leaves, where the opposite half has been torn out and is lost. In one case, a half-leaf has been torn out and pasted back in the manuscript. All these instances show that the manuscript was apart at the time, for the ends of the leaves, and the sewing as well, were concealed in the binding. The manuscript must therefore have been rebound, and

¹ *Orient oder Rom*, p. 71 ff., and *Oriens Christ.* I, p. 366.

² See Dalton, *Byzantine Art & Archaeology*, pp. 213 and 234.

the worn condition of the leaves, betokening long use, points to more than one rebinding. It is likely therefore that the paintings of the covers are considerably later than the text, none of which antedates the fourth century.

This is borne out by a comparison of the paintings with other Coptic monuments of reasonably certain date, particularly the paintings discovered in the funerary chapels at Bawît, and in the monastery cells at Saqqara.¹ Clédât, to whom we owe the best publications of the Bawît paintings, allows a range from the fifth to the twelfth century for the Bawît monuments in general,² and is very reluctant to give definite dates to the paintings, though inclining to put most of them in the sixth century. Only one of the chapels which he explored produced material evidence as to date; that is, Chapel XVII, one of whose paintings, decorating a niche in the east wall, is reproduced in Fig. 29. Graffiti scratched on the walls of this chapel contain dates belonging in the eighth century, and the decoration, as Clédât pointed out, must therefore be no later than the eighth century, "ou même VIIe."³ Clédât elsewhere says⁴ that the paintings of Chapel XVII seem to belong to the sixth century.

It will be noted, in comparing the figures on the covers with those in the Bawît painting, that they are cruder than the latter in design, but show so striking a similarity to them in the treatment of details that it is impossible to suppose that the monuments are very far apart in date. The apostle on the Virgin's left hand in the Bawît painting has many points of contact with the Mark and Luke on the covers. We may compare, for example, the angular beard of the apostle with that of St. Luke. Again, we note a close correspondence in the stripes on the wrists of both the apostle and St. Mark, in the black stroke separating right arm and breast, in the dots and stripes and the arrangement of the drapery, and the way in which the right leg is indicated beneath the pallium. The enormous haloes afford another common feature, while both the Bawît painting and the covers show the same summary way of painting the sandalled foot, and the ground-strip

¹ Cf. for Bawît, Clédât, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* 1902 and 1904; *Mém. de l'Institut franç. d'Archéologie orient.* XII; s. v. Baouît in Cabrol, *op. cit.* For Saqqara, J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 1906-1907.

² *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* 1902, p. 537.

³ *Mém. de l'Institut. franç. d'Arch. orient.* XII, 2, p. 83.

⁴ In Cabrol, *op. cit.* s. v. Baouît, col. 229.

on which the figures stand. The real difference between the two paintings is not one of style, but of quality; the Bawît figures are at once freer and more sure in execution, while the covers betray their decadence and a later date by a certain laxity of conception and drawing. Another point of divergence is the attitude of Mark, who stands in an easy pose, resting the weight of the body on one leg, a posture rarely seen in the sixth century, but increasingly common thereafter, and characteristic of Byzantine art.



FIG. 29. THE ASCENSION. PAINTING IN CHAPEL XVII AT BAWÎT.

The Bawît figures, on the other hand, are more squarely planted on both feet. The same marks of later date, with the exception of the attitude of Mark, are visible in a similar painting found in Chapel XLII, representing Christ in glory surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists, and below Him the Virgin and Child enthroned in the midst of the apostles.¹ Here, if we may judge from Clédât's drawing, the treatment of drapery, faces, hands and feet betrays the same decadence, and points to the same relative

¹ Cabrol, *op. cit.* fig. 1280.

date as that of the covers. This date should be measurably later than that of the painting of Chapel XVII.

We find the style of the covers reflected again in the painting reproduced in Fig. 30, which represents part of a group decorating a niche in Cell F at Saqqara. In this the crudeness is accentuated,

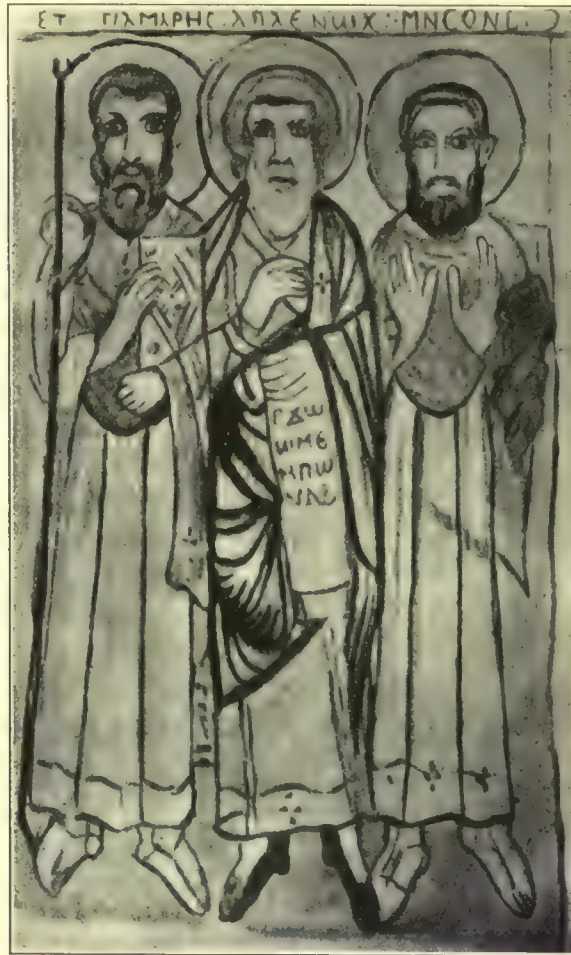


FIG. 30. THREE SAINTS. WALL-PAINTING IN CELL F IN THE MONASTERY AT SAQQARA.

and visible in the exaggerated curvilinear treatment of the hands. The feet dangle, and the artist found it impossible to render the folds of the drapery. We have here a monument obviously later than the covers, but the community of style is seen in the triple vertical division of the tunic, the arrangement of the drapery of the central figure, the angular beards, the indication of the sandals

and the dots on the tunics. A graffito scratched on one of the figures in the niche was seen by Grenfell, who pronounced it to be of the eighth century.¹ It was afterwards washed away by rain, but Grenfell's judgment may be taken to indicate the *terminus ad quem* for the date of the painting under discussion.

The style of the book-covers may, therefore, be traced through a series of monuments in which a chronological sequence can be established as follows: (1) Chapel XVII, Bawît; (2) Chapel XLII, Bawît, and the Freer covers; (3) the Saqqara painting in Cell F. The evidence of the graffiti shows that (1) and (3) are no later than the eighth century. This establishes the lower limit for the period in which the covers must be placed. It remains to find the *terminus post quem*, in other words, to date, if we can, the earliest one of our series, the painting in Chapel XVII at Bawît. And this is the more important since Strzygowski² has questioned the propriety of the sixth century as the average date for the Bawît paintings, and is inclined to place them earlier than Clédat.

The composition which decorates the niche in Chapel XVII obviously represents the Ascension. Christ sits on a jewelled throne in the midst of a glory, blessing with His right hand, and holding an open book in His left, on which one reads the word ἅγιος, 'holy,' three times inscribed. From the clouds that support the glory emerge the heads of the Evangelical beasts. To right and left are angels carrying wreaths, and near each appears a woman's head framed in a medallion. Below we see the Virgin and the apostles, with St. Peter holding a key and book in his left hand, occupying the place of honor to the right of the Virgin.

The composition is of Syro-Palestinian origin,³ and first appears in a form essentially similar to the Bawît example in the Syriac Gospel of the Laurentian Library at Florence, which was written in Zagba, Mesopotamia, by the monk Rabulas, in the

¹ Quibell, *op. cit.* II, p. 67.

² *Denkschriften der Wiener Akad.* (Phil.-Hist. Kl.), 1906: *Eine alexandrische Weltchronik*, p. 193.

³ The type was derived, according to Heisenberg (*op. cit.* II, p. 196 ff.), from a lost mosaic of the church of the Apostles in Constantinople, dating in the time of Justinian (see p. 55), which formed the model of the composition on the Monza phials, and of the later Byzantine versions. It seems more likely, however, that the archetype is to be sought in an earlier Palestinian mosaic, and interesting data on this point may be expected from Strzygowski's forthcoming publication of the Byzantine gold ornaments in the Morgan collection.

year 586. The Syrian miniature (Fig. 31) also depicts Christ in the glory, and the wreath-bearing angels on either side. As at Bawît, we find the Virgin below, standing in an attitude of prayer among the apostles. But the miniature adds the busts of the sun and moon in the upper corners of the picture, groups the symbols of the Evangelists below the glory, inserts two half-figures of



FIG. 31. THE ASCENSION. MINIATURE OF THE SYRIAC GOSPEL OF RABULAS.

angels above it, depicts Christ standing, and holding an unrolled scroll instead of a book and lastly inserts on either side of the Virgin an angel who carries a staff and directs the attention of the apostles to the ascending Christ. The two medallions with the female heads are also omitted in the manuscript. The chief difference is found in the treatment of the lower group. In the Rabulas miniature there is much movement, the apostles gaze and point upward with expressive gestures and attitudes, and are

huddled in groups of six on either side of the Virgin. The latter, too, partakes in a measure of the general excitement. In the Bawît painting the lower group is stiff and quiet, the apostles stand in frontal attitudes holding books in their hands, and are rendered in a hieratic fashion that suppresses the dramatic connection of the lower zone with the scene above.

The distinctly Palestinian version of the type is represented by a number of reliefs on the famous oil-flasks of Monza, which were made in Palestine about 600¹ (Fig. 32). In these reliefs, Christ is depicted seated on a throne, and holding a book, as at Bawît. The symbols of the Evangelists are omitted, and two or four angels sustain the aureole. A dove and the *Dextera Domini* are in one case inserted below the glory and above the head of the Virgin.² Below stand the Virgin and the apostles. The latter are divided into two groups as in the Rabulas Gospel, and usually show the excited gestures and attitudes of the Syrian type. At least one of the flasks, however,³ gives a composition that closely resembles the Bawît painting, in that only two angels are represented beside the glory that surrounds the Saviour, and the apostles below are quiet figures standing in a row on either side of the Virgin, giving thus the air of detachment to the lower group which was noted above.



FIG. 32. THE ASCENSION. RELIEF ON AN EARLY CHRISTIAN OIL-FLASK AT MONZA.

The conventionalized version of the Ascension type which was used in the relief of the Monza flask just mentioned must have been in the mind of the artist who composed the peculiar mosaic in the chapel of S. Venanzio at Rome (a. 640–649).⁴ This

¹ Garrucci, *op. cit.* VI, pls. 433, 8. 10; 434, 2. 3; 435, 1.

² Garrucci, *op. cit.* VI, 434, 3. Heisenberg, *op. cit.* II, p. 198 maintains that in this case the artist has adapted the Ascension type to a representation of the Descent of the Holy Spirit.

³ Garrucci, *op. cit.* VI, pl. 433, 8. ⁴ De Rossi, *Mosaici cristiani di Roma*, pl. XIX.

indeed is not an Ascension, but the composition is evidently based on the type that we have been discussing, for we see a half-figure of Christ among the clouds of heaven in the vault of the apse, flanked by two half-figures of adoring angels, and below is the figure of the Virgin-orant, with Peter and Paul on either side, heading a series of the saints commemorated in the oratory. Here again the upper and lower parts of the composition are distinct, and the same statuesque pose is given to the saints of the lower zone. Another adaptation of the type is found in the painting above mentioned in Chapel XLII at Bawît, where the concept of the Ascension again is lost, and the Virgin-orant is replaced by a seated Madonna holding the Child in her lap.

The Bawît painting shows an eclectic use of both the Syrian and the Palestinian types of the Ascension. It retains the four symbols of the Evangelists which are omitted in the Monza flasks, and thus shows affinity with the miniature in the Rabulas manuscript, though it distributes them symmetrically around the aureole, and does not group them below it, as is the case with the miniature. On the other hand, it coincides more closely with the composition of the Monza flasks in rendering Christ enthroned and holding a book, instead of standing and holding a scroll as He is represented in the Syrian Gospel, and is very like one of the flasks, and also like the seventh century mosaic of S. Venanzio, in conventionalizing the scene by means of the hieratic treatment given the lower group. Judging therefore from its iconography, we should incline to give the Bawît painting a date coeval with, or somewhat later than, the date of the Monza flasks.

Such imitation of Syro-Palestinian models on the part of Coptic artists is by no means new to students of the Christian art of Egypt. A fresco at Antinoë representing the Massacre of the Innocents is clearly derived from the rendering of the same subject in the Rabulas Gospel, and the Journey to Bethlehem in the same cycle of paintings is similarly related to the corresponding scene on the ivory cover of the Etschmiadzin Gospel, which is recognized as a Syrian work.¹ A distributing centre of such influence on Coptic iconography may have been the Syrian cloister of Deir es-Suriani, and there in fact we find a tenth-century

¹ I am indebted for these observations to Mr. E. B. Smith.

painting of the Ascension,¹ which, while conforming in most respects to the version of the Monza flasks, still retains the sun and moon of the Syrian type. The earlier painting which it replaced has left sufficient traces of itself to show that it was even more like the Rabulas miniature in that it contained the two staff-bearing angels in the lower group.

We have said that, so far as the iconography of the Bawît Ascension is concerned, it should be dated about 600, or somewhat later. But dates based on iconography must always be elastic, and in this case, the strong Hellenistic survivals visible in other paintings of Chapel XVII, notably in the head of an angel tormenting the damned in a representation of Hell,² and in certain details of the Baptism of Christ,³ make it unlikely that the decoration of the chapel is later than the sixth century. Nor is the formal treatment of the theme, as compared with the livelier versions of the Rabulas Gospel and most of the Monza flasks, necessarily indicative of a later date, for the tendency toward a hieratic rendering is a factor constant in the Coptic. The white cloth in Mary's girdle is of little assistance in determining the date, for, while it is characteristic of the Virgin in later Ascensions, it nevertheless occurs in the Rabulas miniature and has been pointed out by Strzygowski in an Annunciation among the Syrian miniatures of the Etschmiadzin Gospel, which he dates as early as the first half of the sixth century.⁴ We shall scarcely err, in view of these considerations, in placing the Bawît Ascension between 550 and 600. The decadence manifested in the style of the book-covers would date them in a somewhat later period, and they can therefore be assigned roughly to the first half of the seventh century. The middle of this century, or its latter half, is thus indicated as the date of the painting in Cell F at Saqqara.

The evolution of Early Christian art is understood to-day (thanks chiefly to the investigations of Strzygowski) as the gradual Orientalizing of the Hellenic forms bequeathed to the Christian era by antiquity. The tide of Greek naturalism which overran the Mediterranean basin in the wake of the conquests of Alexander never obliterated the artistic traditions of Egypt and

¹ Strzygowski, *Oriens Christ.* I, pp 360 ff.

² Cabrol, *op. cit.* fig. 1278.

³ Cabrol, *op. cit.* fig. 1282.

⁴ *Byz. Denkmäler*, I, p. 71, pl. V. 2.

Mesopotamia. Hardly had Greek art become established in Asia and the valley of the Nile when there began against it and within it the reaction of the Orient, traceable in a number of significant symptoms such as the obliteration of the background, the growing contrast between the lights and shadows, frontality, one-plane relief, symmetrical composition, and above all a conventional rendering of animate life.

Egypt furnished perhaps the most fertile soil in which the seeds of this reaction could grow. Greek art was really never at home in that country. Alexandria itself was the most Hellenistic of cities, but the country as a whole clung to ancient modes of expression, as indeed may be seen from the small impression made by Greek notions on the religious art and architecture under the Ptolemies and Rome. The Christian religion, nevertheless, came in Greek guise to the Copts as well as to the other peoples of the Mediterranean. Its stories and dogmas were cast in Greek artistic moulds, and the sanction thus given to Hellenistic forms prevailed long against the rising influence of Eastern art.

In Egypt, therefore, the conflict took the form of a duel between the Hellenistic Christian fashions of Alexandria and the native traditions of Upper Egypt. Alfred Gayet has devoted an interesting volume¹ to the thesis that the Copts, the native Christians of Egypt, were but passive recipients of the early Hellenistic phase of Christian religion and Christian art, and that the subsequent history of their indigenous painting and sculpture, as well as of their theology, is but a series of successive and successful reactions of a spiritual people, lovers of the mystic, dealers in symbolism, against the materialism of Greek thought. Hence the monophysite Coptic theology, and the conventional, unreal Coptic art. Certain it is that none of the early schools displayed so marked a contrast between its first essays and its later development. The early products of the Christian ateliers of Alexandria are the most Hellenic of Christian monuments, with the possible exception of the works produced in Asia Minor; and nowhere at a later period do we meet with so crude and conventional a rendering of nature, and so pronounced a tendency on the part of formal ornament to elbow out the naturalistic, as in Egypt. Gayet indeed finds much to support his contention that Mohammedan polygonal ornament is but a development of Coptic design.

¹ *L'Art Copte*, Paris, 1902.



It may be said therefore that the history of Coptic art is the transformation of a free Greek naturalism into a conventional style of the crudest character. That this change was conditioned in some degree by influences from Syria and Palestine seems clear from what has been pointed out with reference to the effect of Syro-Palestinian iconography on Coptic representations of sacred subjects, but the extent to which these influences made themselves effective in Egypt is not yet thoroughly understood. It is, however, worthy of note that the time when Syria and Palestine most affected the rest of the Mediterranean basin, the sixth and seventh centuries, is also the period when the last vestige of Hellenism was squeezed out of Coptic art.

To illustrate in detail the evolution of the Christian art of Egypt is no part of the present writer's task, but its general character may be indicated briefly by pointing out certain changes which gradually manifested themselves in the treatment of the human figure. As is well known, later Greek art showed a pronounced preference for a figure in free movement, unconfined to a given plane, in contrast to the frontality, or unifaciality, which characterizes Oriental art, and the earlier phases of Greek. This preference expressed itself most often in a fondness for the three-quarters view of the face and body, and the artists, particularly in the Roman period, frequently enhanced this effect by shifting the pupil of the eye in a direction angular to that toward which the face was turned, giving the appearance of a sidewise glance. It is this oblique gaze which marks the survival of Hellenistic tradition in Christian art wherever it is found,—in the primitive phase before the frontality of the East brought in the curious stare that is so marked a feature of the mosaics of the sixth and seventh centuries, and in the post-iconoclastic Byzantine, when a fresh infusion of Hellenism followed a revival of interest on the part of the East Christian craftsmen in their Greek patrimony.

This feature might be illustrated by any number of examples drawn from Egyptian monuments which reflect the early Alexandrian style, such as the Joshua Roll and the famous illustrated codices of Cosmas Indicopleustes. It will be more interesting to examine an example wherein the Hellenistic element is but a reminiscence struggling to view through the already dominant Coptic formalism. Such a case is presented by the miniatures

of Fig. 33, which adorn a page of a History of the World, written in Greek on papyrus, now in the Golenisheff collection at St. Petersburg.¹ The text on the page contains a chronicle of the events of the years 389–392. In the illustration above to the left, we see the Emperor Theodosius, with the diminutive and hardly visible figure of the Cæsar Honorius at his right. Below

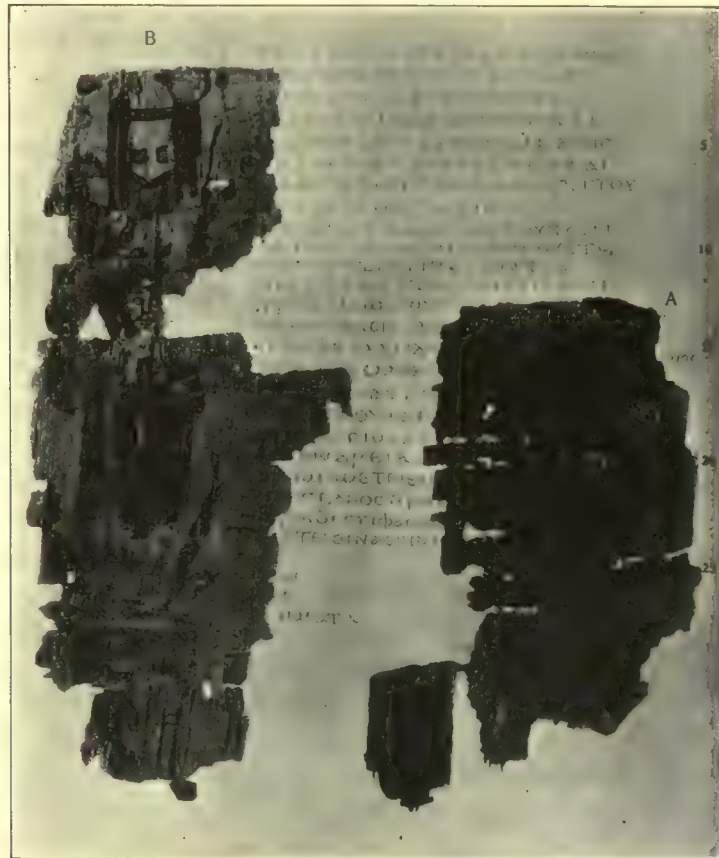


FIG. 33. MINIATURES OF A HISTORY OF THE WORLD IN THE GOLENISHEFF COLLECTION AT ST. PETERSBURG.

this group stands Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, and beneath his feet is the temple of Serapis, within which appears the statue of the god, wearing the characteristic *modius* on his head. The miniature refers to the great achievement of Theophilus' reign, — the destruction of the Serapeion by the Christians of Alexandria.

¹ Published by A. Bauer and J. Strzygowski in *Denkschriften der Wiener Akad.* (Phil.-Hist. Kl.) 1906. Cf. also Wilpert's critique of portions of Strzygowski's article in *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1910, pp. 1–29.

The theatrical figure to the right is the pretender Eugenios, whose death is chronicled in the accompanying text, and below him we see again the temple of Serapis, assailed by two fragmentary figures of Christians, who are hurling stones at the structure. The manuscript is assigned by Strzygowski to the early part of the fifth century, and betrays in many ways an origin in Upper Egypt, thus constituting one of the earliest existing examples of native Christian art.

The reaction against the traditions of Hellenism may here be seen in the frontality given to the figure of Theophilus, the elimination of any rendering of environment, the flatness of the modelling, and indeed the general unreality of the whole. Yet even here the telltale traces of Greek technique are visible in the sidewise glance of the eyes and the three-quarters pose of the dying Eugenios. The face of the latter marks in striking manner the decay of Hellenistic drawing. The Greek habit of drawing the face in a three-quarters view has led the artist to a summary indication of eyebrow and nose by a zigzag stroke; thus $\neg \sqcup$, a device which was employed in the features of Theophilus. But in the face of Eugenios he gives us a zigzag which points the nose toward the right, while the head and gaze are turned in comical contrast to the left. Such an instance of misapplied technical tradition is eloquent of the painter's waning grasp of reality.

It is obvious that the forms of naturalism will survive longer in episodes and scenes of action than in isolated figures like that of Theophilus or groups of the kind we have seen in the Bawît paintings. It is worth while therefore to compare in this connection another Coptic monument which shows the growth of Coptic convention even in the rendering of episodic scenes. This monument (Fig. 34) is a wooden panel in the same Golenisheff collection, first published by Ainaloff in 1898.¹ Certain



FIG. 34. THE NATIVITY AND THE BAPTISM. PAINTED WOODEN PANEL IN THE GOLENISHEFF COLLECTION AT ST. PETERSBURG.

¹ *Viz. Vremnik*, V, pp. 181-186, pl. II.

affinities with the Rabulas Gospel which are manifest in the panel make it certain that it is to be dated at least a hundred years later than the "History of the World." Strzygowski¹ believes that it formed one of the side pieces of a five-part leaf of a diptych, a form common in Christian ivories, but of which this would be the only example in wood. The upper scene represents the Nativity. Mary reclines upon a couch, and Joseph is standing or seated beside her. Above is the crudest sort of representation of the Child in the manger. His head is marked with a cruciform nimbus which tapers off to form the shapeless body. Behind the Child appears a portion of the head of the ass. The lower scene is the Baptism. Christ is bearded (a departure from Hellenistic tradition), John bends slightly to place his right hand on the head of the Saviour, and an angel to the right holds His garments.

There is scarcely anything in Christian art more uncouth than this panel. The staring frontality of the faces, which the artist has been unable to escape even in the bent head of the Baptist, the joining of the adjacent haloes, the summary indication of the swaddled Child, the hopeless crudity of the reclining Mary, — betoken an almost completely atrophied sense of the actual. Only here and there may Hellenistic tradition be surmised — in the face of the angel perhaps, and more clearly in the zigzag stroke still used to indicate the brow and nose, but already supplemented, to render the nasal ridge, by a secondary parallel line.

The Golenisheff panel, being painted on wood, is an excellent parallel for our book-covers, and there are many features common to both monuments. Such are the heavy black outlines, the enormous haloes, the angular beard of Joseph, the peculiar curve to indicate the hair above the middle of the forehead, and the circle and dot with which the artist draws the eye and pupil. But the panel shows its earlier date in the use of gold for the nimbus, and a stucco priming on which the painting is overlaid — features reminiscent to a degree of Hellenistic technique. The book-covers, on the other hand, substituting plain yellow for the haloes, and showing no trace of priming, reflect the processes of a later period.

The Freer book-covers in fact represent the final step in the evolution briefly sketched, the fully developed Coptic style. No

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 201.

trace of Hellenism remains in these curiously formal figures, unless it be the easy attitude of Mark, which, as previously suggested, is rather an indication of Byzantine influence. The ridge of the nose is now rendered by two parallel lines, bodies and faces are flat, the figures repeat conventional types, and differentiation is merely a matter of color of hair and drapery. The complete divorce from reality reflects the last stage of the Coptic revolt against the formulas of Hellenism. The covers are unique examples of the purest artistic expression of this strange race of symbolists, devoid at once of that interest in things human which inspires the rudest works of Western Europe, and the sense of abstract beauty which relieves the most formal phases of the Byzantine.

APPENDIX

For the convenience of readers who may wish to refer to the colored reproductions of the covers of the Washington Manuscript of the Gospels, a list of the libraries containing the *Facsimile* cited in the footnote on p. 63 is here added.

LIBRARIES CONTAINING THE FACSIMILE OF THE WASHINGTON MANUSCRIPT OF THE GOSPELS, JULY 1, 1914

UNITED STATES

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Amherst, Massachusetts: Amherst College.
Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan.
Auburn, New York: Auburn Theological Seminary.
Austin, Texas: University of Texas.

Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University.
Beloit, Wisconsin: Beloit College.
Berkeley, California: University of California.
Bloomington, Indiana: University of Indiana.
Boston, Massachusetts: Boston Public Library.
Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado.
Brunswick, Maine: Bowdoin College.
Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania: Academy of the New Church.
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania: Bryn Mawr College.
Burlington, Vermont: University of Vermont.

Cambridge, Massachusetts: Andover Theological Seminary.
Cambridge, Massachusetts: Episcopal Theological School.
Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University.
Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina.</p> | <p>Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia.
Chester, Pennsylvania: Crozer Theological Seminary.
Chicago, Illinois: Chicago Theological Seminary.
Chicago, Illinois: McCormick Theological Seminary.
Chicago, Illinois: Newberry Library.
Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago.
Cincinnati, Ohio: Lane Theological Seminary.
Cincinnati, Ohio: University of Cincinnati.
Cleveland, Ohio: Western Reserve University.
Clinton, New York: Hamilton College.
Colorado Springs, Colorado: Colorado College.
Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri.
Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University.
Crawfordsville, Indiana: Wabash College.
Delaware, Ohio: Ohio Wesleyan University.
Denver, Colorado: Denver Public Library.
Des Moines, Iowa: Drake University.
Detroit, Michigan: Library of the University Club.
Detroit, Michigan: Detroit Public Library.

Easton, Pennsylvania: Lafayette College.
Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon.
Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University.</p> |
|--|---|

- Galesburg, Illinois : Knox College.
 Geneva, New York : Hobart College.
 Gettysburg, Pennsylvania : Lutheran Theological Seminary.
 Greencastle, Indiana : De Pauw University.
 Grinnell, Iowa : Grinnell College.

 Hamilton, New York : Colgate University.
 Hanover, New Hampshire : Dartmouth College.
 Hartford, Connecticut : Hartford Theological Seminary.
 Hartford, Connecticut : Trinity College.
 Haverford, Pennsylvania : Haverford College.
 Holland, Michigan : Hope College.

 Indianapolis, Indiana : Indiana State Library.
 Iowa City, Iowa : University of Iowa.
 Ithaca, New York : Cornell University.

 Lawrence, Kansas : University of Kansas.
 Lewisburg, Pennsylvania : Bucknell University.
 Lexington, Kentucky : Transylvania University.
 Lincoln, Nebraska : University of Nebraska.
 Louisville, Kentucky : Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

 Madison, New Jersey : Drew Theological Seminary.
 Madison, Wisconsin : University of Wisconsin.
 Meadville, Pennsylvania : Meadville Theological Seminary.
 Middletown, Connecticut : Wesleyan University.
 Minneapolis, Minnesota : University of Minnesota.
 Mount Vernon, Iowa : Cornell College.

 Nashville, Tennessee : Vanderbilt University.
 New Brunswick, New Jersey : Rutgers College.
 New Brunswick, New Jersey : Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church of America.
 New Haven, Connecticut : Yale University.
 New Orleans, Louisiana : Tulane University.
 New York : American Bible Society.
 New York : Columbia University.
 New York : Library of the Grolier Club.

 New York : J. Pierpont Morgan Library.
 New York : New York Public Library.
 New York : New York University.
 New York : Union Theological Seminary.
 Newton Center, Massachusetts : Newton Theological Institution.
 Norman, Oklahoma : University of Oklahoma.
 Northampton, Massachusetts : Smith College.
 Notre Dame, Indiana : Notre Dame University.

 Oberlin, Ohio : Oberlin College.
 Olivet, Michigan : Olivet College.
 Oxford, Ohio : Miami University.

 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania : American Philosophical Society.
 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania : Dropsie College.
 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania : Lutheran Theological Seminary.
 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania : University of Pennsylvania.
 Pittsburg, Pennsylvania : Carnegie Library.
 Poughkeepsie, New York : Vassar College.
 Princeton, New Jersey : Princeton Theological Seminary.
 Providence, Rhode Island : Brown University.

 Richmond, Indiana : Earlham College.
 Rochester, New York : Rochester Theological Seminary.
 Rochester, New York : University of Rochester.
 Rock Island, Illinois : Augustana College.

 St. Louis, Missouri : Concordia Theological Seminary.
 St. Louis, Missouri : Washington University.
 Salt Lake City, Utah : University of Utah.
 Schenectady, New York : Union University.
 Seattle, Washington : University of Washington.
 South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania : Lehigh University.
 South Hadley, Massachusetts : Mount Holyoke College.
 Stanford University, California : Leland Stanford Junior University.
 Swarthmore, Pennsylvania : Swarthmore College.
 Syracuse, New York : Syracuse University.

Topeka, Kansas : Washburn College.
 Tufts College, Massachusetts : Tufts College.

Urbana, Illinois : University of Illinois.

Washington, D. C. : Catholic University of America.

Washington, D. C. : Library of Congress.

Washington, Pennsylvania : Washington & Jefferson College.

Waterville, Maine : Colby College.

Wellesley, Massachusetts : Wellesley College.

Williamstown, Massachusetts : Williams College.

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC

Buenos Ayres : Universidad Nacional

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Budapest : University of Budapest.

Cracow : University of Cracow.

Innsbruck : University of Innsbruck.

Prague : University of Prague.

Vienna : University of Vienna.

AUSTRALIA

Melbourne : University of Melbourne.

Sydney : University of Sydney.

BELGIUM

Brussels : University of Brussels.

Liège : University of Liège.

BRAZIL

Rio de Janeiro : Bibliotheca Nacional.

CANADA

Kingston : Queen's University.

Montreal : McGill University.

Toronto : Knox College.

Toronto : University of Toronto.

CHILE

Santiago : University of Chile.

CHINA

Peking : University of Peking.

DENMARK

Copenhagen : University of Copenhagen.

EGYPT

Cairo : Vice-Regal Library.

ENGLAND

Birmingham : University of Birmingham.

Cambridge : Cambridge University.

Leeds : University of Leeds.

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Manchester : John Rylands Library.

Manchester : University of Manchester.

Oxford : Bodleian Library.

FINLAND

Helsingfors : University of Helsingfors.

FRANCE

Bordeaux : University of Bordeaux.

Grenoble : University of Grenoble.

Lille : University of Lille.

Lyons : University of Lyons.

Montpellier : University of Montpellier.

Paris : Bibliothèque Nationale.

Paris : University of Paris.

Toulouse : University of Toulouse.

GERMANY

Berlin : Royal Library.

Bonn : University of Bonn.

Breslau : University of Breslau.

Erlangen : University of Erlangen.

Freiburg : University of Freiburg.

Giessen : University of Giessen.

Goettingen : University of Goettingen.

Greifswald : University of Greifswald.

Halle : University of Halle.

Heidelberg : University of Heidelberg.

Jena : University of Jena.

Kiel : University of Kiel.

Koenigsberg : University of Koenigsberg.

Leipzig : University of Leipzig.

Marburg : University of Marburg.

Muenster : University of Muenster.

Munich : Royal Library.

Rostock : University of Rostock.

Strassburg : University of Strassburg.

Tuebingen : University of Tuebingen.

Wuerzburg : University of Wuerzburg.

GREECE

Athens : University of Athens.

HOLLAND

Amsterdam : Vrije University.

Groningen : University of Groningen.

Leyden : University of Leyden.

Utrecht : University of Utrecht.

INDIA

Calcutta : University of Calcutta.

Lahore : Punjab University.

IRELAND

Dublin : National Library of Ireland.
Dublin : Trinity College.

ITALY

Bologna : University of Bologna.
Naples : University of Naples.
Rome : American Academy in Rome (Library of the School of Classical Studies).
Rome : British School at Rome.
Rome : Vatican Library.
Turin : University of Turin.

JAPAN

Kyoto : Kyoto University.
Tokyo : University of Tokyo.
Tokyo : Waseda College.

MEXICO

Mexico City : Biblioteca Nacional.

NORWAY

Christiania : University of Christiania.

PERU

Lima : University of Lima.

RUSSIA

Dorpat : Imperial University.
Moscow : Imperial University.
St. Petersburg : Imperial University.

SCOTLAND

Aberdeen : Aberdeen University.
Edinburgh : Edinburgh University.
Glasgow : Glasgow University.
St. Andrews : University of St. Andrews.

SPAIN

Barcelona : University of Barcelona.
Madrid : University of Madrid.

SWEDEN

Lund : University of Lund.
Upsala : University of Upsala.

SWITZERLAND

Basel : University of Basel.
Zurich : University of Zurich.

SYRIA

Beirut : American College.

TURKEY

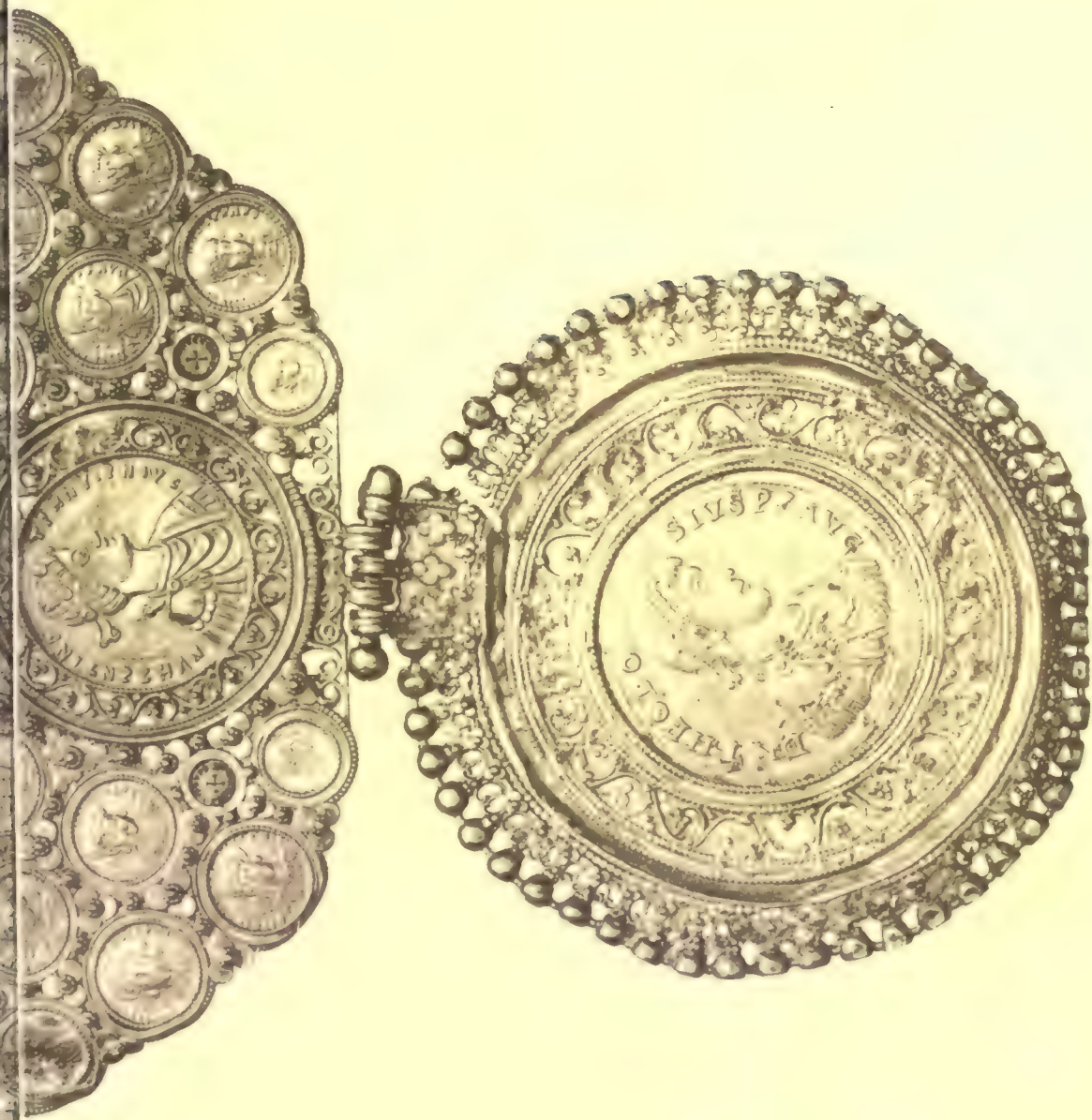
Constantinople : Robert College.

WALES

Aberystwyth : National Library of Wales.
Lampeter : St. David's College.

PLATE I





PICCOLI AND NICKERING WITH LARGE FRAMED MEDALLION ATTACHED
MORGAN AND FREER COLLECTION Nos. 1 AND 2

PART II

A GOLD TREASURE OF THE
LATE ROMAN PERIOD
FROM EGYPT

PREFACE

THE following pages present a description of thirty-six objects belonging to a notable gold treasure of the late Roman period found in Egypt. The description is intentionally full; since the evidence at our disposal for acquaintance with the jeweller's art of this period is comparatively meagre, it was thought that the publication of a detailed study might be of interest. Brief notices of the treasure appeared in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. XIV (1910), pp. 79-81, and vol. XVII (1913), p. 93.

The writer is deeply grateful to those in charge of the European collections containing similar objects for their unfailing courtesy in affording every facility for the study of the valuable material which he desired to examine. He especially appreciated the kindness of Professor Robert Zahn of the Berlin Antiquarium, Herr Friedrich Ludwig von Gans of Frankfurt, and Mrs. Walter Burns of London, as well as of Mr. Charles L. Freer, and the late J. Pierpont Morgan, in making it possible to bring together, in a single monograph, the various portions of the divided treasure; and he is under much obligation to Mr. Freer, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, Jr., and Mr. William H. Murphy, of Detroit, for their generous support of the publication.

The drawings showing details of the bracelets in the Morgan Collection were made by Mr. E. B. Edwards; those illustrating details in the Freer Collection, by Mr. R. Suarez. The heliotype plates were executed by The Heliotype Company, of Boston, from photographs kindly prepared under the direction of Mr. Zahn, Sir Hercules Read, the Metropolitan Museum, and Mr. George R. Swain.

Sir Hercules Read and Mr. G. F. Hill, of the British Museum, and Mr. Zahn, very kindly verified in the proof-sheets a number of details relating to the objects in London and Berlin.

WALTER DENNISON.

SWARTHMORE, PENNSYLVANIA,
March, 1917.

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SUMMARY

MORGAN COLLECTION, nos. 1, 8, 9, 10, 16, 17, 26, 27, 28, 29 (10 objects).

FREER COLLECTION, nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, 20, 21, 22, 23, 36 (9 objects).

BURNS COLLECTION, nos. 11, 15, 18, 19, 24, 25 (6 objects).

VON GANS COLLECTION: Berlin, nos. 4, 14, 30, 31, 32, 33 (6 objects).

Frankfurt, nos. 3, 12, 13, 34, 35 (5 objects).

TOTAL, 36 objects.

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I. THE TREASURE AND ITS DISTRIBUTION

EARLY in the year 1909 a collection of objects belonging to a gold treasure of the late Roman period came into the hands of a well-known antiquary of Cairo. In April of that year nine of the objects were purchased by Mr. Charles L. Freer, of Detroit, Michigan, becoming a part of his private art collection in that city.¹ These were a large medallion (numbered 2 in our list; see p. 117), three small medallions (nos. 5-7), a pair of armlets (22-23), a pair of earrings (20-21), and a statuette of rock-crystal (no. 36, p. 164).² Somewhat later six objects of the same treasure were acquired by Herr Friedrich Ludwig von Gans, of Frankfurt, Germany, and were presented by him, with the von Gans collection of objects of art, to the Antiquarium in Berlin. These comprised a large medallion (no. 4, p. 127), a necklace (14), and two pairs of bracelets (30-33).³

The same antiquary of Cairo later obtained sixteen objects, of which all excepting two⁴ (nos. 8, 9, and perhaps also 24, 25), purported to belong to the same treasure. Ten of these were purchased in 1912 by the late Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, of New York: a pectoral (no. 1, p. 109), three necklaces (8-10), a pair of earrings (16-17), and two pairs of bracelets (26-29).⁵ The remaining six objects were presented by Mrs. Walter Burns, of London, to the British Museum: a necklace (no. 11, p. 143), a breast chain (15), a pair of earrings (18-19), and a pair of bracelets (24-25).

¹ These objects will ultimately be transferred to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D. C., where they will be placed with the other collections in the gallery to be erected by Mr. Freer.

² Mr. Freer's purchase included also twenty small round pearls that are loose; since they do not belong with the gold objects obtained by him, it is possible that they became detached from some of the other pieces in the treasure.

³ Briefly referred to by Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911), p. 544, footnote 1, and published in detail by Professor Robert Zahn, in 1913, in *Amtliche Berichte aus den königlichen Kunstsammlungen: Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (XXXV, no. 3). The study and interpretation of these objects were made by Professor Zahn and the writer independently.

⁴ Said to have been found at Alexandria.

⁵ Now exhibited by his son in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Finally in 1913 Herr von Gans purchased four additional objects: a pectoral (no. 3, p. 121), two necklaces (12-13), and a cross (35); and in 1914 he acquired a single bracelet (no. 34, p. 163).¹

With the exception of two necklaces (nos. 8 and 9 of our list, pp. 140, 142), which are reported to have come from Alexandria, and possibly a pair of bracelets (nos. 24 and 25), it is not possible to affirm with certainty in what place the treasure was found, or even to determine whether the pieces were all found in the same place; some pieces, however, betray striking resemblances to one another, and undoubtedly were the product of the same school of workmanship. The objects were brought to the antiquary by Arab peasants at different times, and in a secretive manner; it is well known that the Arabs who find objects of value usually evade inquiries about their "finds," or refuse outright to reveal the place of discovery.

At first it was reported that the treasure was found near Tomet, a village in the vicinity of Assiût in Upper Egypt;² later it was believed that the place of discovery was Shêkh Abâda, the ancient Antinoë, on the east bank of the Nile, opposite Eshmounein. Several of the objects (nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 14, 26-31) are in part covered with sand, consisting of reddish, flint-like particles which adhere firmly. It is probable that these objects lay for centuries in some spot in the desert, having been hidden, it may be, in time of danger;³ this may possibly have been just before the Arab Conquest, in the middle of the seventh century. The existence of sand on some objects, and not on others, naturally prompts the suggestion that the pieces were not all deposited, or found, in the same place.

All the objects, excepting the statuette (no. 36, p. 164), are of gold, and many are ornamented with jewels (nos. 7, 9-14, 16-21, 28, 29, 32-35). The jewels are those commonly employed in late antiquity for gold ornaments;⁴ they are emeralds (*smaragdus*,

¹ The writer's description of the five objects last mentioned is based upon notes generously furnished by Professor Zahn.

² Zahn (*op. cit.*, p. 88) was told that the treasure was found in the ruins of a cloister. If such was the case, these objects may have been monastic or ecclesiastical property.

³ Although it is unnecessary to cite parallels, in this connection it seems pertinent to recall Appian's statement (*De Bell. Civ.* 4, 73) that in 43 B.C. the Rhodians buried their gold and silver valuables in pits and tombs to prevent them from falling into the hands of Cassius.

⁴ Marshall, *Catalogue of Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities in the British Museum* (London, 1911), p. lvii fol., and Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, article "Gemma." The best account of gems given by a Greek or Roman writer is in Pliny's *Natural History*, Book 37.

σμάραγδος), sapphires (ancient name not certainly known), pearls (*margarita*, μαργαρίτης), and amethysts (*amethystus*, ἀμέθυστος); glass-paste (*vitrum annulare*, λίθινον χυτόν) and mother-of-pearl (*concha*) also were used.

The emeralds in shape are elongated, hexagonal, or cylindrical, and are pale green in color; those found in Cyprus were especially prized in antiquity. Plasma (*prasius*, πράσιος, sometimes perhaps called *smaragdus*), a green variety of chalcedony colored by metallic oxide, often occurs in Roman jewelry; on account of its usual form it is possible that this is the jewel described by the Roman writers as *cylindri*.¹ The sapphires, as evidenced by the shade, are from Ceylon. They are usually bead-shaped, and in some instances exceptionally large (nos. 14, 28, 29, pp. 146, 158). Their color ranges from a purplish blue to a very pale blue, while some have an amethystine tinge. The pearls, which also were imported from the Orient, are more often round, sometimes exceptionally large (*uniones*); others are pear-shaped (*elenchi*).² Pearls almost always, sapphires and emeralds usually, were set on a pin or wire which passed through a boring that pierced the stone lengthwise. The pin held the jewel in place by being made blunt, or wound in a small coil, at its end.

The settings for the jewels are of a great variety; in shape they are circular, cylindrical, square, cubical, and oval. There are truncated cones, and inverted pyramids; petals, band-rings, wire-rings; pear-shaped or almond-shaped settings,³ a form possibly suggested by the lateral leaves of the palmette; clusters of cylindrical and palmette settings also, and rosette plaques, occur. The sets are sometimes held in place with claws (nos. 12, 14, 28, 29). The solid settings are backed with gold foil. On the ear-rings (nos. 20 and 21, p. 153) chiselled lunate and oblong set-

¹ Hermes, vol. I, 345.

² Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei den Griechen und Römern* (4 vols., Leipzig, 1875-1879, vol. I, ed. 2, 1912), II, p. 379 fol. Pearls were greatly prized and were used for necklaces, earrings, and in other ways (Pliny, *N. H.* 9, 106-124; 37, 17). Dealers in pearls (*margaritarii*) are often mentioned in Roman inscriptions, as *C.I.L.* VI, 9544-9549. According to the *Notitia* there was a *Porticus Margaritaria* in Rome in the eighth Region; the exact location of it is in dispute.

³ Fig. 56. Zahn (*op. cit.*, p. 89) calls this form of setting pear-shaped or almond-shaped. The same form occurs on Kyrenia and Mersina objects; Dalton (*Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Fig. 317 and p. 541 fol.) explains it as due to oriental and Persian influence; see also Myres, *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, IV (1898), p. 109, Fig. 1. Riegl, *Die spätromische Kunstindustrie nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn* (Vienna, 1901), also refers to it (p. 142).

tings are found; similar settings appear on the cross (no. 35, p. 164).

The ornamentation is varied and pleasing. There are three-petal designs (nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 11, 30, 31), as well as four-petal (2) and nine-petal (1) designs; usually they have a pellet center, but on two objects (nos. 1 and 3) the center is occupied by a rosette. Allied with this design is a small disc with pellet center (nos. 26, 27). Pellets are also placed in the vacant spaces of spirals, and are employed to represent bunches of grapes (nos. 1, 2, 3); they appear frequently on loops, and elsewhere. Globules produce the appearance of pearls strung on wires (nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7).

A common ornamentation is an edging of beads of varying size. In two instances (nos. 28, 29, p. 157), the rims are edged with a delicate design similar to the Greek bead moulding. Spirals occur in filigree (nos. 1, 2, 3), in open work (nos. 1, 2, 3, 9, 11, 32, 33), and are also chiselled (nos. 5, 6, 7); there are bow-spirals (nos. 1, 2, 3, 10, 11), wire coils (nos. 32, 33), and twisted wires (no. 34). Scrolls were used in the decoration of several objects (nos. 15, 18-21, 32, 33). Among leaf designs we see the lotus bud (nos. 4, 14, 15), palmette (nos. 4, 14, 15), and ivy leaf (nos. 8, 15).

Open work (*à jour*)¹ is quite characteristic, often representing geometric designs (nos. 8, 14, 26, 27). Chiselling is frequently resorted to (nos. 1, 3, 4, 12, 15, 18-21, 24, 25, 28-31, 35). Bosses, both plain and edged with beads, are occasionally introduced. Particularly pleasing designs are a shell-shaped ornament (nos. 22, 23), and doves in open work (nos. 26, 27). The symmetrical arrangement of numerous patterns is noteworthy (nos. 11, 14, 15, 28, 29, 32, 33). The soldering² is usually done with skill, and is often concealed by some design; the frames are occasionally strengthened by the insertion of strips, or square plugs (nos. 1, 3, 4, 34).

Chains have single and double links, or are plaited; they have ornamental ends (as no. 11, p. 143). Hinges have three or five joints, in alternation; they are fastened by means of pins, which are finished with gold pearls (nos. 2, 4, 30-33), a faceted head (no. 34), real pearls (nos. 28, 29), or animal heads in gold (nos. 26, 27); on the necklace, no. 14, and elsewhere, the hinge was care-

¹ Marshall, *op. cit.* (p. xlix), suggests that this may be the *aurum interrasile* of Pliny, *N. H.* 12, 94.

² Pliny, *N. H.* 33, 93, has a section on gold solder.

PLATE II



THE EMPEROR JUSTINIAN: DETAIL OF A SIXTH CENTURY MOSAIC IN THE
CHURCH OF S. VITALE AT RAVENNA

CONSPICUOUS OBJECTS OF DECORATION ARE THE DIADEM AND THE ELABORATE FIBULA
ON THE RIGHT SHOULDER, BOTH SET WITH MOTHER-OF-PEARL AND PRECIOUS STONES

fully concealed. The hinge pins are often in the form of screws; the threads were made by soldering a fine wire, spiral-wise, around a smooth pin (Figs. 19 and 57). The pins unscrewed from left to right.¹ In one case (no. 3, p. 121) the hinge is fastened with a smooth pin finished with a flat head. Rings for suspension are of wire, or ribbed, or a plain band.

The objects in the collection range in date from the third to the sixth century A.D.; the majority belong to the latter period. The Morgán and Berlin pectorals (nos. 1, 3, pp. 109, 121), and the small Freer medallions (nos. 5, 6, 7), from the evidence of their coins, must be as late as the middle or latter half of the sixth century. Similar evidence would put the large Freer medallion (no. 2, p. 117) as late at least as the end of the fourth century, but its style and decorative design make it almost certainly contemporaneous with the Morgan pectoral (no. 1, p. 109). Probably the pieces numbered 4, 11, 14, 15, 18-21, 26-35, and perhaps nos. 12, 13, 22, and 23 also, belong to this period. The necklace numbered 8 (p. 140) is necessarily as late as the middle of the third century, and is perhaps not much later; the necklace numbered 10 (p. 142) with probability also belongs to this century, but another necklace (no. 9, p. 142) may be later, while other objects (nos. 16, 17, 24, and 25) may be even earlier. The statuette (no. 36, p. 164) is perhaps not later than the sixth century, and is possibly a century earlier.

At the period represented by our collection there were ateliers of goldsmiths working at Alexandria, in Syria, and at Constantinople. With the evidence at present available one could not with certainty attribute our objects definitively to Alexandria or Syria. Topographical reasons, if we regard the place of discovery, would favor Alexandria. On the other hand, the workmanship of some of the pieces is similar to that of a silver treasure found in Cyprus (see p. 103), which is presumably a Syrian product. It seems to be fairly certain that the objects in the collection were produced by Egyptian-Syrian ateliers, rather than by those of Constantinople; with the possible exception of the Berlin medallion (no. 4, p. 127), they betray but little of the formalism that characterizes Byzantine art. There is some reason for supposing that this

¹ Professor Zahn, of the Berlin Antiquarium, is shortly to publish in the *Jahrbuch des Arch. Instituts* an exhaustive study of the screw as used in antiquity, based upon monumental and literary sources.

medallion is a product of Coptic art; the matter is discussed elsewhere (p. 134). Certain other pieces in the collection are ornamented with designs that also show Coptic influence.¹ While this naturally has an important bearing on the question of origin, the attribution of the sixth century objects of this collection definitely to Egypt or to Syria is, with our present evidence, hardly permissible.

It would be interesting to speculate on the precise use to which these beautiful objects were put, even if speculation be fruitless. It is likely that the men and women whose persons the medallions and other pieces were intended to ornament, were people of more than ordinary importance. The objects may have been presented as tokens of imperial favor, but it seems impossible to connect them with any known historical event. Gregory of Tours, writing in the sixth century, relates² that when ambassadors of King Chilperic returned from the emperor Tiberius II Constantinus (581 A.D.), they brought gifts: 'He showed gold coins, each weighing a pound, the gift of the emperor; these had on one side a representation of the image of the emperor and the legend, OF TIBERIUS CONSTANTINUS, FOREVER AUGUSTUS,³ and on the other side a four-horse chariot and driver, with the legend, GLORY OF THE ROMANS. He showed also many other decorative objects, which were displayed by the ambassadors.'⁴

The sixth century was one of luxury, when jewelry was an important branch of art, and other writers also of the fifth and sixth centuries describe the splendor and magnificence of the jewels and the gold and silver ornaments of their time. The well-known mosaics in the church of S. Vitale at Ravenna, which represent Justinian (Plate II) and the Empress Theodora (Plate III),⁵ illustrate how extensively rich personal decorations were worn by the notables of the time. Not only the diadem of Justinian, but the bejewelled clasp (*fibula*) on the right shoulder, must have shone

¹ See pp. 136, 159, 161.

² *Hist. Franc.* VI, 2.

³ A coin of Tiberius Constantinus is shown in this book, Fig. 25.

⁴ *Aureos etiam singularium librarum pondere, quos imperator misit, ostendit, habentes ab una parte iconam imperatoris pictam, et scriptum in circulo: TIBERII CONSTANTINI PERPETUI AUGUSTI; ab alia vero parte habentes quadrigam et ascensorem continentesque scriptum: GLORIA ROMANORUM. Multa enim et alia ornamenta, quae a legatis sunt exhibita, ostendit.* See remarks by Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1908), I, p. 105.

⁵ Published in various places, as Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 356, Fig. 213; *Revue Archéologique*, vol. VII (1850), Plates 145, 146.

PLATE III



THE EMPRESS THEODORA: DETAIL OF A SIXTH CENTURY MOSAIC IN THE CHURCH OF S. VITALE AT RAVENNA

THE EMPRESS WEARS A DIADEM, EARRINGS HAVING LONG PENDANTS, NECKLACES, AND AN ELABORATE FIBULA ON THE RIGHT SHOULDER. THESE ARE SET WITH PRECIOUS STONES OF DIFFERENT COLORS, WITH PEARLS AND MOTHER-OF-PEARL

with a brilliancy to which a description could hardly do justice. Still more elaborate and imposing is the empress's display of jewels, in diadem and headdress, in earrings with their long pendants, necklaces, and the fibula on the right shoulder. The mode of wearing the diadem is more distinctly shown on the head of a late emperor, unidentified, at Barletta (Plate IX).

Objects of approximately the same period as ours, some of them belonging to remarkable "finds," are preserved in various private and public collections. In 1797 twenty-four Roman medallions, and other objects of jewelry of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., were accidentally discovered near Szilágysomló, in Hungary, on the slope of the Maguraberg. In 1889 there were found not far from the same place several other beautiful pieces of about the same period.¹ All these objects are now in the Royal Museum at Vienna; the medallions are referred to elsewhere (p. 104). In the vicinity of Kyrenia, in Cyprus, a remarkable gold and silver treasure belonging to the sixth or beginning of the seventh century was brought to light shortly before 1900 and in 1902.² Some of the pieces of our collection show a marked resemblance to objects belonging to this Cyprus treasure (pp. 140, 146, 156, 164). Other treasures coming from Mersina, and now preserved in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, are published by Kondakof.³ Single finds, and objects whose provenance are unknown, are mentioned in our descriptions.

Gold coins and medallions⁴ were often mounted in antiquity

¹ Hampel, *Altertümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn* (3 vols., Braunschweig, 1905), II, pp. 15-39, Taf. 14-31; see also Riegl, *Die spätromische Kunstindustrie nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn*.

² Sambon, *Trésor d'orfèvrerie et d'argenterie trouvé à Chypre. Le Musée: Revue d'art mensuelle*, III (1906), pp. 121-129; Diehl, *Manuel d'Art byzantin* (Paris, 1910), pp. 294 fol.; Dalton, *op. cit.*, pp. 541 fol., 572 fol.

³ *Russkie Kladui* ("Russian Treasures"), St. Petersburg, 1896. In a private letter Mr. Dalton has kindly informed the writer of the existence, in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, of an unpublished gold necklace and earrings, set with gems, said to have come from Egypt and dating perhaps from the fifth century.

⁴ The word "medallion" in its present sense may be traced to Italian usage of the fifteenth century; the Romans employed the word *nomisma*. While the Roman medallions of gold had a monetary character, as far as their weight, dimensions, types, and legends were concerned, being in fact multiples of current coins, they were probably not intended to be put into circulation as currency. They were undoubtedly struck by imperial order to commemorate great historical events, or to be presented as marks of the emperor's favor to foreign princes, ambassadors, or other distinguished persons; in the latter case they were frequently provided with a ring or other means of suspension for wearing around the neck. Discs of metal, particularly with open-work, are also called "medallions."

See Gneecchi, *I Medaglioni Romani* (3 vols., Milan, 1912); Froehner, *Les Médailles de l'empire romain* (Paris, 1878); Cohen, *Monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain* (8 vols.,

for purposes of jewelry.¹ They were encircled in an ornamental frame, with a loop or hinge for attachment, or were merely provided with a loop, or pierced. Usually the larger medallions have a decorative frame, and the smaller ones are pierced or provided with a ring. This treatment of coins removed them from circulation, and placed them in the class of medallions. Silver medallions were hardly ever framed, but were sometimes pierced. Bronze

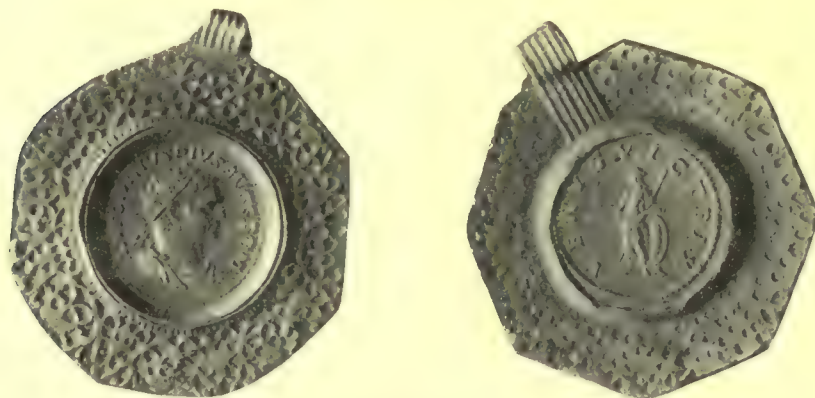


FIG. 1. GOLD FRAMED MEDALLION OF CARACALLA, NOW IN PARIS.

Provided with a loop for suspension. Original size.

medallions were frequently surrounded by a frame, but were not provided with rings for suspension.

In the Szilágysomló collection in Vienna, to which reference has already been made, are several fine examples of such jewelry. There are coins and medallions of Maximianus (Gnecchi, Tav. v, 4),² Constantine the Great (Tav. vi, 8), Constantius II (Tav. xi, 8, 12; our Plate IV), Valens (Tav. xv, 1; xvi, 1, 2, 3; xvii, 1; xviii, 2; our Plate V), and Gratianus (Tav. xviii, 4). In the Cabinet des

Paris, 1880-1892); Gnecchi, *Monete Romane* (Milan, 1907), especially pp. 249, 250; and Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne* (Paris, 1908), especially vol. I, p. 149, no. 8, Pl. XIII, 8; on the Vienna medallions see also Kubitschek, *Ausgewählte röm. Medaillons der Kaiserl. Münzensammlung in Wien* (Vienna, 1909), and Arneth, *Die Antiken Gold- und Silber-ornamente der K. K. Münz- und Antikencabinettes in Wien* (Vienna, 1850). On Roman medallions in general information may be found also in Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies grecques et romaines*, vol. I, pp. 652 fol.; Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'antiquité* (3 vols., Paris, 1878-79), I, pp. 4 fol.; and Gnecchi, *La Medaglia presso i Romani*, *Rivista Ital. di Numismatica*, XXIV (1911), pp. 11-18.

¹ Cf. the statement of Pomponius, *Dig.* VII, 1, 28: 'Ancient gold and silver coins, which it is their custom to use in place of jewels' (*Nomismata aurea vel argentea vetera, quibus pro gemmis uti solent*).

² The references in parentheses are to Gnecchi, *I Medaglioni Romani*, but most of the medallions will be found also in the works mentioned in footnote 4, p. 103.

PLATE IV



GOLD FRAMED MEDALLION OF CONSTANTINE II, NOW IN VIENNA
PROVIDED WITH A LOOP FOR SUSPENSION

Médailles in Paris are two of Caracalla, the earliest known framed coins (Tav. i, 3; i. 6; our Fig. 1), one of Honorius (Tav. xx, 1;



FIG. 2. GOLD FRAMED MEDALLION OF HONORIUS, NOW IN PARIS.

Provided with a loop for suspension. Original size.

our Fig. 2), and one of Galla Placidia (Tav. xx, 2; our Fig. 3) of unusual beauty. The frames of the last two are identical in design,



FIG. 3. GOLD FRAMED MEDALLION OF GALLA PLACIDIA, NOW IN PARIS.

Provided with a loop for suspension. Original size.

that of Honorius being somewhat larger. An especially fine medallion of Tetricus (Froehner, 231, 386) was stolen¹ from the

¹ Doubtless many other medallions, because of their intrinsic value, were stolen or melted down, both in antiquity (see Lampridius, *Life of Alexander Severus*, 39) and in modern times.

Cabinet des Médailles in 1831. In the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin is a medallion of Valens (Tav. xv, 2) and one of Theodosius (Tav. xix, 12; our Fig. 4).

More than fifty gold coins and medallions which have been transformed into articles of jewelry are known up to the present time; most of them are reproduced in Gneecchi's plates. Some are worn on one side by constant use (so Gneecchi, Tav. v, 4; vi, 8; vii, 10; xi, 8; xviii, 4). None of the designs of the ornamental frames, however, show any resemblance to those of our collec-



FIG. 4. GOLD MEDALLION OF THEODOSIUS, NOW IN BERLIN.

Provided with a loop for suspension. Original size.

tion, which were evidently produced by a different school of goldsmiths, and present types of exceptional interest.

Gold coins were frequently mounted also, in beautiful settings of gold, in necklaces, bracelets, earrings, brooches, and similar objects.¹ A necklace in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, found in 1809 at Naix (ancient Nasium), has framed *aurei* of Hadrian, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta (Plate XXVIII);² another from Syria, now in the Berlin Antiquarium (unpublished), contains *aurei* of the third century. An armlet with gold coins of Marcus Aurelius, Caracalla, Gordian III, and Claudius Gothicus, is in Vienna.³ Examples of rings and brooches set in this manner⁴

¹ Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.*, articles "Armilla," "Inaures," "Gemma," "Monile"; and Cabrol, *Dict. d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, article "Bracelet."

² Babelon, *Guide au Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1900), p. 168, Fig. 68. See below, p. 142.

³ Arneth, *op. cit.*, p. 35, Plate G, xi, 206.

⁴ Marshall, *op. cit.*, nos. 2860, 2868-2870; Kondakof, *Russkie Kladui*, Fig. 106; Forrer, *Reallexicon der prähist. klass. und frühchrist. Altertümer* (Berlin, 1907), Pl. 134.

PLATE V



GOLD FRAMED MEDALLION OF VALENS, NOW IN VIENNA

PROVIDED WITH A LOOP FOR SUSPENSION

are preserved in the British Museum and elsewhere. A gold medallion of Theoderic also was thus transformed.¹ Similarly decorated are a girdle belonging to the Cyprus treasure,² with four large cast medallions of Mauricius Tiberius, and twelve *solidi*³ of emperors of the fifth and sixth centuries (Plate XXV); and a patera found at Rennes in 1774, now in Paris, was decorated with sixteen imperial *aurei* ranging from Hadrian to Julia Domna.⁴

Medallions intended for suspension about the neck, especially Christian medallions, seem to have had a prophylactic or talismanic significance.⁵ They were known as *encolpia* (ἐν κόλποις, 'on the breast'). Two of these, of gold, were found in 1882 in Adana, in Cilicia, and are now in Constantinople (Fig. 30).⁶ Gold particularly was supposed to have a prophylactic power,⁷ and it was believed that the representation of Alexander the Great possessed a magic character.⁸ Since the prophylactic element is found also in Christian medallions,⁹ it is probable that our piece numbered 4 (p. 127) belongs to this class.

¹ Gnechi, *I Medaglioni Romani*, Tav. xx, 3.

² Sambon, *Le Musée*; *Revue d'Art mensuelle*, III (1906), Pl. xxi.

³ For the *solidus* and *aureus* see p. 112, footnote 1.

⁴ Babelon, *Guide au Cabinet des Médailles*, p. 184, Fig. 71.

⁵ See De Rossi, *Bulletino d'Archeologia cristiana*, 1869, pp. 33 fol.; Sorlin-Dorigny, *Revue des Études grecques*, IV (1891), pp. 287-290.

⁶ Published by Strzygowski, *Byzantinische Denkmäler* (Vienna, 1891), I, 99-112; see below, p. 131. See also Oriens Christianus, N. S., V, p. 103, Taf. I, and E. B. Smith, *Byzantinische Zeitung*, 1914, pp. 217-225.

⁷ Pliny, *N. H.* 33, 4, 25.

⁸ Trebellius Pollio, *Triginta tyrann.* XIII; cf. Babelon, *Traité des Mon.* I, 681 fol. Of interest in this connection are the famous medallions of Abukir, regarded by many scholars as genuine, for which see Dressel, *Fünf Goldmedallions aus dem Funde von Abukir*, *Abh. der königl. preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Classe*, 1906, 1-86; they are of the third century A.D., and were prizes of victory in the Olympic games celebrated in Macedonia in 242-243 A.D., in honor of Alexander the Great. Here belongs also the Treasure of Tarsus found in Cilicia in 1858, now in the Cabinet des Médailles (*Revue Numismatique*, 1868, pp. 309-336).

⁹ De Rossi (*Bull.* 1869, p. 33 fol.) gives a list of Christian devotional medallions.

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE OBJECTS

I. GOLD PECTORAL ORNAMENTED WITH COINS. MORGAN COLLECTION. PLATES I, VI, AND VII

The pectoral consists of a large neck-ring of gold attached to an elaborate frame in which clusters of gold coins and a medallion are set. Its weight is 341 grammes.

The neck-ring (width, 0.22 m.; length, not including the hinge, 0.232 m.) is a hollow tube (0.01 m. in diameter), which passed around the neck of the wearer; it was opened by removing a screw pin on the left side, thus allowing the ring to swing back on a hinge on the right side; the screw pin turned from left to right (p. 101). The neck-ring, which has been bent on the left side, is without ornamentation, but at the ends are two flat raised bands that bear a zigzag pattern bordered by a very fine beading; between these bands on the front side is a small rosette similar to those in the border surrounding the coins in the frame. A round plate, pierced with a hole in the centre, is soldered to the end of the neck-ring, to which in turn the hinge joints are fastened.

The decoration of the frame, and the arrangement of the central medallion with the coins at either side, are indicated in Plate VIII. In the following description the order of the letters in Plate VIII is followed.

a. Large medallion

In the centre of the frame is a large medallion (0.053 m. in diameter, not including the beaded wire, 0.058 m. including it; width of edge, 0.007 m.) resembling a medallion coin. It consists of two separate plates, one for the obverse and one for the reverse; both the relief work and the details of dress and hair were not stamped but were executed by free hand with a fine chisel.

On the obverse is the portrait, crudely executed, of a fifth or sixth century emperor, facing toward the right, and wearing the diadem (cf. Plate IX); he has a cuirass, and a military cloak fastened with an elaborate fibula.

On the reverse is Roma (or Constantinopolis), seated, facing left, holding in the left hand a sceptre, and in the right a globe surmounted by a cross; below is the prow of a ship. In the field on the left is the monogram of Christ, and on the right a star, which may have been intended for the Christian monogram.

On the obverse is an unintelligible legend chiselled in Greek characters: NYH22NTINP TPHNYIPNIVC. Substantially the same legend recurs on the reverse, with the exception that the fourth letter is written C. The division on the reverse is NYHC2N TIN PTPHNVIPNIYC. A lightly incised line, drawn along the outer edge of the letters, on both obverse and reverse, served as guide.

The medallion with its legend is undoubtedly a barbaric production,¹ made in imitation of an imperial model. That model



FIG. 5. COIN TYPES OF VALENTINIAN III WHICH MAY HAVE SERVED AS MODELS FOR THE CENTRE MEDALLIONS OF THE PECTORALS, NOS. 1 AND 3.

was possibly a coin of one of the Valentinians, which bore the legend D N VALENTINIANVS P F AVG. The legends of Roman coins, particularly those of Valentinian III, were frequently copied without intelligence by the barbarians of the sixth and seventh centuries.² The name of a Valentinian was a long one, and might easily have perplexed a

foreigner who had only a slight familiarity with Latin.³ Coin types similar to this occur for all three of the Valentinians. A coin of Valentinian III, with types resembling those of the medallion, is shown in Fig. 5.⁴ An unintelligible legend, evidently a barbaric imitation of some imperial coin, occurs also on the medallions of the bracelets numbered 30 and 31 (Plate L).

The medallion has a raised edge surrounded with a large beaded wire and enclosing a decorative band (Plate VIII). This band, while smaller, is practically identical with the decorative

¹ *I.e.*, made by an Oriental who knew Greek but no Latin.

² Abundant evidence is afforded by Mr. Wroth's volume, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths, and Lombards in the British Museum* (London, 1911). Illustrations are found also in Kubitschek, *Ausgewählte röm. Medaillons* (Vienna, 1909): no. 114, a coin of Gordian, with BELT for FELIX. MLETHRMPRODUGNATORENDII for MARTEM PRO-PUGNATOREM PII; no. 121, a coin of Philip the Elder (?), ENTTLÖ ICKCSS (meaning ?). See also Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, II, p. 437 fol.

³ Even the Roman die cutter occasionally made a mistake in this name; cf. Cohen, VIII, p. 217, nos. 51 and following.

⁴ For Valentinian III, see Cohen, VIII, p. 210, no. 4 (our Fig. 5).

PLATE VI





PECTORAL WITH MEDALLION AND COINS
MORGAN COLLECTION. No. 1, Obverse



PLATE VII





PECTORAL WITH MEDALLION AND COINS
MORGAN COLLECTION. No. 1. REVERSE

band which appears on the Freer medallion (no. 2, p. 118). It is edged with a small beaded wire, and is ornamented with spirals, made by soldering down sections of a fine, plain wire in filigree; the spirals terminate alternately in a three-petal ornament having a small pellet at its centre, and a bunch of grapes represented by four pellets, one pellet being placed on a cluster of three; in each of the intervening spaces is a small pellet. At the branching of the spirals a fine wire is wound three times, perhaps to indicate the joint of the vine.¹

On each side of the central medallion are seven gold coins in cylindrical settings; a concave surface between beaded wires forms the border. Six coins on each side are *solidi* of Theodosius, Anthemius, and Justinian I, and one on each side is a *tremissis* of Justinian. The pectoral is, therefore, as late as the middle of the sixth century. The letters of the legends are in several cases partially concealed by the frames of the coins, or blurred by solder.

b. Coin of an unidentified emperor

It is probably impossible to determine at present what emperor struck this coin, since the letters of the legend are blurred by the solder and partially concealed by the surrounding frame, which with the coin is here bent. At the beginning the bottoms of the letters DN, and at the end AVG, are barely visible. The emperor, facing right, wears the cuirass and diadem. On the reverse the legend is VICTORIA AVGGG, *Victoria Augustorum Trium*, 'Victory of the three Augusti,' a formula employed when three members of the imperial family were reigning together; in exergue, CONOB²; in the left field, R. The type of the figure represented, which is partially concealed and difficult to make out, seems to be similar to that on a coin of Anthemius.³

¹ This is Professor Zahn's suggestion.

² The letters CONOB in the exergue of coins of this period have been interpreted in various ways. But it is generally believed now that in CONOB the letters CON form the mint mark of Constantinople, though it may have been imitated in striking coins elsewhere as well, their technique and amount of alloy being usually sufficient to identify them; the letters OB stand for *obryziacus* (sc. *solidus*), that is, 'a *solidus* of refined gold.' COMOB is explained as meaning *comitis* (*comes* being the official responsible for the gold to the Treasury) *obryziacus*. The letters CORMOB on a coin of Anthemius (*g*) may perhaps be a blunder. See article by Willers in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1898, pp. 228 fol., and 1899, pp. 49 fol.

³ Cohen, VIII, p. 232, no. 18.

c. Solidus¹ of Anthemius (Emperor of the West, 467-472 A.D.)

Obverse, bust of the emperor, facing, with helmet and cuirass; in his left hand, a shield, and in his right, a spear, which extends to the left, back of the head. Legend, DN ANTHEMIVS PF AVG, *D(ominus) N(oster), Anthemius, P(ius), F(elix), Aug(ustus)*, 'Our lord, Anthemius, reverent, fortunate, Augustus.'



FIG. 6. COIN OF ANTHEMIUS, OF THE SAME TYPE AS *c*.

Reverse, SALVS REI PVBLICAE, *Salus Rei Publicae*, 'Welfare of the

State.' Anthemius and Leo in military dress, facing, each with a spear, hold between them a globe surmounted by a cross. In the field is a star; in exergue, COMOB.² The same type is shown in Fig. 6.

d. Solidus of Basiliscus (Emperor of the East, 476-477 A.D.)

Obverse, bust of the emperor, represented as on the obverse of *c*. Legend, DN BASILIS CVS PP AVG, *D(ominus) N(oster), Basiliscus, P(er)p(etuus) Aug(ustus)*, 'Our lord, Basiliscus, forever Augustus.'

Reverse, VICTORI A AVGGGΓ,³ *Victoria Augustorum Trium*, γ, 'Victory of the three Augusti, from the third section of the

¹ From the time of Constantine, who died in 337 A.D., the principal gold coin of the Romans was called *solidus*; the earlier name of the coin was *aureus*. Later two small divisions of this coin, *semissis*, the half of the *solidus*, and *tremissis*, the third of the *solidus*, were introduced.

The *solidus* weighed from 4.211 to 4.536 grammes (68 to 70 Troy grains), and its modulus or diameter varied from about 0.02 to 0.022 m. (0.8 to 0.85 inch). The weight of the *semissis* was from 2.202 to 2.267 grammes (34 to 35 grains); its modulus varied from about 0.017 to 0.019 m. (0.7 to 0.75 inch). The weight of the *tremissis* was from 1.425 to 1.490 grammes (22 to 23 grains); its modulus varied from 0.015 to 0.017 m. (0.65 to 0.7 inch).

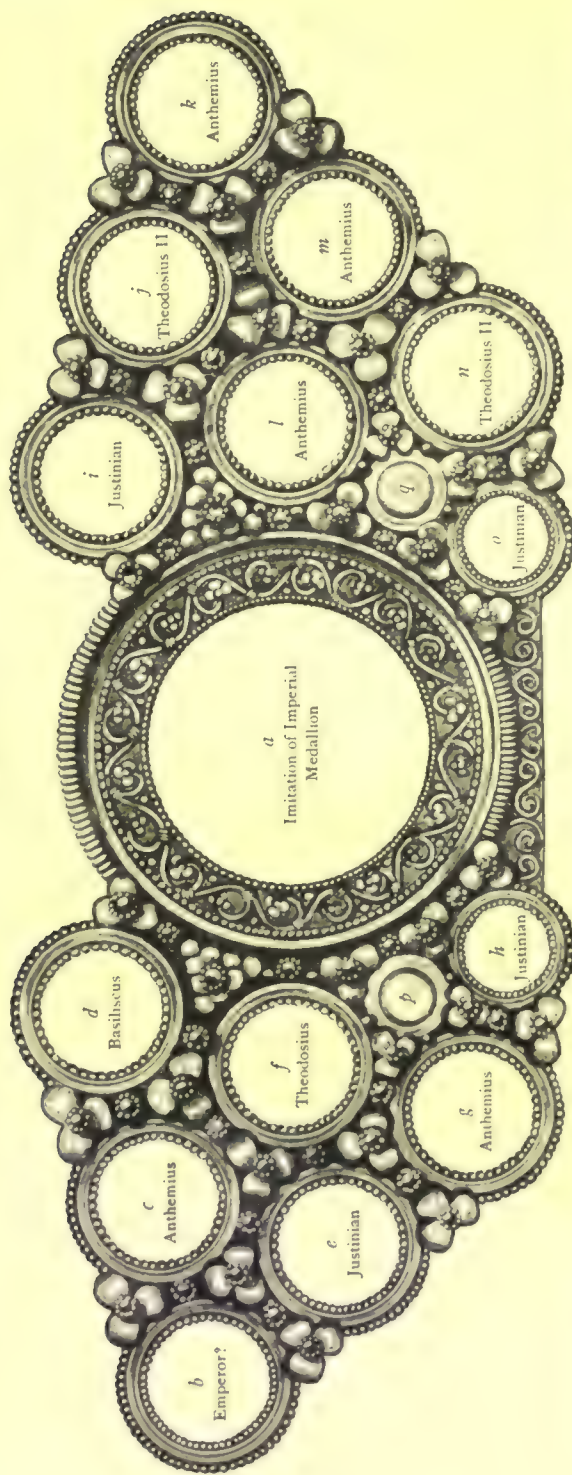
The *aureus* in the time of Alexander Severus weighed 6.55 grammes (101.08 grains). The values of these gold coins naturally did not remain constant in all periods. From the time of Constantine there were 72 *solidi* in a pound of gold, while a century earlier, in the time of Alexander Severus (Emperor, 222-235 A.D.), 50 *aurei* weighed a pound.

The *aureus* in general terms corresponds to the American five-dollar gold piece, or the English sovereign, but in ancient times the value of gold was relatively greater. Striking evidence of the tendency of coins to decline in value is afforded by the fact that the small French and Italian coins, *sou* and *soldo*, both trace their names back to the gold *solidus*, which furnished also the second term of the English monetary symbol £ s. d. (for *Libra, Solidus, Denarius*).

² Cf. Cohen, VIII, p. 231, no. 6.

³ Γ is the number ('three') of the *officina* or department of the mint. The numbers are expressed by Greek letters, and run from Α to Ι, one to ten. See *ε, f*, p. 113.

PLATE VIII



DETAIL SKETCH OF THE DECORATIVE FRAME OF THE MORGAN PECTORAL, NO. 1. THE POSITION OF THE COINS IS INDICATED. SLIGHTLY ENLARGED.

mint.' Victory, standing, faces left, and holds a long cross in the right hand; in exergue, CONOB.¹ The same type is shown in Fig. 7.

e. Solidus of Justinian I (Emperor, 527-565 A.D.)

Obverse, bust of the emperor represented as on the obverse of *c*. Legend DN IVSTINI ANVS PP AVG, *D(ominus) N(oster), Iustinianus, P(er)p(etuus), Aug(ustus)*, 'Our lord, Justinian, forever Augustus.' This coin was struck at the beginning of Justinian's reign, in 527 A.D., and presents a conventional portrait of the emperor; a real portrait appears on the coin of the medallions, nos. 5 and 7.



FIG. 7. COIN OF BASILISCUS, OF THE SAME TYPE AS *d*.

Reverse, VICTORI A AVGGGI, *Victoria Augustorum Trium*, *v*, 'Victory of the three Augusti, from the tenth section of the mint.' Victory holds a long cross in the right hand, and a globe with the cross in the left. In the field at the right is a star; in exergue, CONOB.² The same type is given in Fig. 8.



FIG. 8. COIN OF JUSTINIAN I, OF THE SAME TYPE AS *c*.

f. Solidus of Theodosius (I, 379-395 or II, 408-450 A.D.)

Obverse, bust of the emperor represented as on the obverse of *c*. Legend, DN THEODO SIVS PF AVG, *D(ominus) N(oster), Theodosius, P(ius), F(elix), Aug(ustus)*, 'Our lord, Theodosius, reverent, fortunate, Augustus.'



FIG. 9. COIN OF THEODOSIUS, OF A TYPE SIMILAR TO THAT OF *f*.

Reverse, CONCORDI A AVGGGΘ, *Concordia Augustorum Trium*, *θ*, 'Harmony of the three Augusti, from the ninth section of the mint.' Rome (or Constantinopolis) seated, facing, looks towards the right, placing the right foot upon the prow of a vessel; she holds a sceptre in the right hand, and in the left a globe sur-

¹ Cf. Sabatier, *Monnaies byzantines* (Paris, 1862), p. 143, no. 1, Pl. VIII, 14 or 19.

² Cf. Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, I, Pl. IV, 9, p. 26, no. 6. Cf. Cohen, VIII, p. 153, no. 7.

mounted by a Victory. In the field is a star;¹ in exergue, CONOB. A similar type appears in Fig. 9.

g. Solidus of Anthemius

Obverse, bust of the emperor represented as on the obverse of *c*. Legend, DN ANTHE MIVS PF AVG, *D(ominus) N(oster), Anthemius, P(ius), F(elix), Aug(ustus)*.

Reverse, SALVS RE I PVBLICAE, *Salus Rei Publicae*, as in *c*. Anthemius and Leo in military dress, facing, each with a spear, hold between them a globe surmounted by a cross. In the field is a star; in exergue, CORMOB.² A similar type is shown in Fig. 6.

h. Tremissis of Justinian I (Emperor, 527-565 A.D.)

Obverse, bust of the emperor facing towards the right; he wears the cuirass and military cloak. Legend, DN IVSTINI ANVS PP AVG, as in *e* above.



FIG. 10. COIN OF JUSTINIAN I.
OF THE SAME TYPE AS *h*.

Reverse, VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM, 'Victory of the Augusti.' A Victory advances to the front, holding in the right hand a wreath, in the left a globe with a cross. In the field at the right is a star; in exergue, CONOB.³ The same type is shown in Fig. 10.

i. Solidus of Justinian I

Obverse, bust of the emperor, represented as on the obverse of *c*. Legend, DN IVSTINI ANVS PP AVG, as in *e*.

Reverse, VICTORI A AVGGG, as in *e*. The type also is the same as in *e*, and appears in Fig. 8.

j. Solidus of Theodosius II (Emperor of the East, 408-450 A.D.)

Obverse, bust of the emperor, represented as on the obverse of *c*. Legend, DN THEODO SIVS PF AVG, as on *f* above.

Reverse, VOT XX MVLT XXXI, *Votis vicennialibus, multis tricennialibus*, i, 'Vows (made for the preservation of the emperor) for twenty years, and many periods of thirty years (beside).

¹ Cf. Cohen, VIII, p. 153, no. 7.

² Cf. Cohen, VIII, p. 231, no. 7; and see p. 111, footnote 2.

³ Cf. Wroth, I, p. 28, no. 22, Pl. IV, no. 14.

PLATE IX



HEAD OF THE STATUE OF AN UNIDENTIFIED LATE ROMAN EMPEROR,
SHOWING A FORM OF THE DIADEM

ONE MAY COMPARE THE MOSAIC PORTRAIT OF JUSTINIAN, PLATE II

From the tenth section of the mint.' Victory standing faces left, and holds a long cross in the right hand; in exergue, COMOB.¹

The same type is shown in Fig. 11.

k. Solidus of Anthemius

Same type as *c*, except that in the field of the reverse is RI. Cf. Fig. 6.



FIG. 11. COIN OF THEODOSIUS II, OF THE SAME TYPE AS *j*.

l. Solidus of Anthemius

Same type as *k*. Cf. Fig. 6.

m. Solidus of Anthemius

Same type as *k*, except that in the field of the reverse is a star. Cf. Fig. 6.

n. Solidus of Theodosius II

Obverse same as of *j*.

Reverse, the emperor, facing, stands, in military dress; he holds the *labarum* in the right hand, in the left a globe surmounted by a cross. In the field at the left is a star; legend GLOR ORVIS TERRAR, *Glor(ia) Orvis* [for *Orbis*] *Terrar(um)*, 'Glory of the whole world'; in exergue, TESOB.² A similar type is given in Fig. 12.



FIG. 12. COIN OF THEODOSIUS II, OF A TYPE SIMILAR TO THAT OF *n*.

o. Tremissis of Justinian I

Same type as *h*. Shown in Fig. 10.

p, q. Gold disks

On the right and left of the large medallion, and below its centre, is set a small disk, surrounded merely by a flat rim, on which is a Greek cross in niello. The cross is surrounded by a design, also in niello, of small lunate-shaped incisions, which at first sight give the impression of a series of letters. A silver

¹ Sabatier, p. 116, no. 13.

² That is, minted at Thessalonica. Cf. Sabatier, p. 114, no. 3, Pl. IV, no. 31.

dish, also of the sixth century, from Cyprus, has in its centre a niello cross surrounded by a floral design.¹

THE SETTING

The medallion and coins are each surrounded by a beaded wire; on this are laid, in alternate order, in the spaces between the coins, a small rosette and the three-petal ornament having a rosette centre. On either side of the large medallion, and slightly above its centre, the three-petal ornament is enlarged to a nine-petal ornament with a rosette centre. The rosettes are made by placing a pellet upon a small circle of beaded wire. The system of ornament is seen in Plate VIII.



FIG. 13. RELIEF ON A SILVER BOWL FROM CYPRUS, OF THE SIXTH CENTURY.

The illustration shows the manner in which a pectoral, similar to nos. 1 and 3, was worn by an officer of the Imperial Body-guard.

Below the medallion are simple spirals of wire flanked by bow-spirals having a beaded standard; the design is identical with that on the medallion (no. 2). On the middle of the lower edge of the pectoral, soldered to a horizontal strip, are two ribbed rings, with globules on both sides, for attaching something below. On the basis of similarity of ornament we might conjecture that this pendant was the large Freer medallion (no. 2); actual trial of fitting these objects together has shown beyond a doubt that originally they belonged together;² in Plate I they are shown together, as they must have been worn.

On the reverse of the pectoral (Plate VII) the setting is unusually deep, in order to throw the ornament out from the person, or perhaps to prevent undue wear (see p. 106). Plugs consisting of three-sided right-angled strips and soldered in between the sets joined the settings together, and held them firmly in place.

USE OF THE PECTORALS

This pectoral and the other one (no. 3) may have been worn by an officer of the imperial bodyguard; at any rate, a similar

¹ Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 575, Fig. 360; see also Fig. 55 on p. 95, and Dalton, *Cat. of Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East in the British Museum* (London, 1902), no. 397, Pl. xxiv.

² The pectoral and medallion were brought together and photographed at the Metropolitan Museum, December 8, 1913 (see Plate I).

PLATE X



LARGE FRAMED MEDALLION OF THEODOSIUS I.
FREER COLLECTION. NO. 2. OBVERSE

PLATE XI



LARGE FRAMED MEDALLION OF THEODOSIUS I.
FREER COLLECTION. No. 2. REVERSE

object is worn by a man, St. Sergius or St. Bacchus, represented in relief (Fig. 13) on a silver bowl of the sixth century, discovered in the closing years of the nineteenth century, not far from the monastery of Acheripoetus near Kyrenia, in Cyprus.¹ The body-guard of the Emperor Justinian on a sixth century mosaic in the church of S. Vitale at Ravenna are similarly adorned.

2. LARGE GOLD MEDALLION. FREER COLLECTION.
PLATES I, X, XI

This is a large medallion coin² (diameter about 0.05 m.) of Theodosius I (379-395 A.D), set in a gold frame of delicate workmanship and of remarkable beauty. The diameter of the whole, not including the hinge, is 0.107 m. The weight of the medallion is 178 grammes.

On the obverse of the coin is the bust of the emperor,³ facing right, wearing the diadem, military cloak, and cuirass. The legend is D N THEODO SIVS P F AVG, *D(ominus) N(oster), Theodosius, P(ius), F(elix), Aug(ustus)*, 'Our lord, Theodosius, reverent, fortunate, Augustus.' The type of diadem worn by the later emperors is well illustrated by an unidentified statue now at Barletta⁴ (Plate IX).

The legend of the reverse is RESTITVTOR REI PVBLICAE, *Restitutor Rei Publicae*, 'Restorer of the State.' The emperor, in military dress, and with nimbus, stands facing, and holds with his left hand the *labarum* bearing the Christian monogram, ✠; with his right he raises a kneeling female figure, which personifies the *Res Publica*, wearing the turreted crown and carrying the cornucopia. In the left field is M, in the right, D, an abbreviation for *M(ediolani)*, '(struck) at Milan'; in exergue, COMOB.

It is difficult to distinguish between the coins of Theodosius I and Theodosius II, but on the whole it seems best to attribute this medallion to Theodosius I. There is but one other gold medallion of this emperor known (Fig. 4); this is now in the Kaiser Friedrich

¹ Dalton, *Cat. of Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East*, no. 398, Pl. XXIV; other instances are there cited. ² See footnote 4, p. 103.

³ Theodosius was a compatriot of the Emperor Trajan, whom he somewhat resembled in appearance, as we are informed by Aurelius Victor, *Epit.* 48: 'In character and person he was like Trajan, as descriptions of the old writers and representations of him show,' (*Fuit moribus et corpore Trajano similis quantum scripta veterum et picturae docent*).

⁴ Arndt, *Griechische und Römische Porträts*, no. 898. This is perhaps a portrait of the emperor Valens; see *Antike Denkmäler*, Band III, Heft 2 (1912-13), Taf. 20, 21, Abb. 1-9.

Museum in Berlin.¹ The Berlin coin weighs 48 grammes and measures 0.046 m. in diameter. The Freer coin has about the same diameter, but it is impossible to measure accurately its size or weight without removing it from its setting. On the obverse of the Berlin medallion the face and bust of the emperor occupy relatively more space than in our coin; on the reverse the nimbus



FIG. 14. PORTION OF THE BANDS OF ORNAMENTATION ENCLOSING THE FREER MEDALLION, NO. 2. ENLARGED.

is smaller, as is the Christian monogram on the *labarum*, but the dress and attitude of the two figures on both coins are identical. The Berlin example has no letters in the field, but has in exergue, AQOB; it was provided with a ring for suspension.

The frame enclosing the coin consists of two circular bands of ornamentation, separated by a concave surface and a projecting ridge (Fig. 15 *h*); in order to bring out the details of the system

¹ Friedländer und Sallet, *Das königl. Münzcabinet*, Berlin, 1877, p. 274, no. 1118; Cohen, VIII, p. 157, no. 28; Gnechi, *I Medaglioni Romani*, p. 38, Tav. XIX, no. 12.

of ornamentation, a section of the coin and frame is shown as enlarged by photography (Fig. 14), and a drawing of a section of the frame is given (Fig.

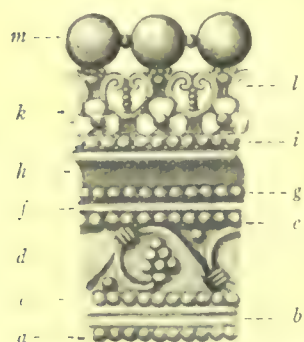


FIG. 15. DETAIL SKETCH OF A SECTION OF THE BANDS OF ORNAMENTATION ENCLOSING THE FREER MEDALLION, NO. 2. SLIGHTLY ENLARGED.

15).

The inner band (Fig. 15, *a-g*) is bordered by two rings of beaded wire on the inside (*a, c*) and two on the outside (*e, g*); between the two inner rings is a narrow concave surface (*b*); between the two outer rings, a plain wire (*f*). The flat surface between the borders (*d*, 0.007 m. wide) is decorated with spirals formed by soldering down fine wires



FIG. 16. CROSS SECTION OF THE FRAME OF THE FREER MEDALLION, NO. 2. ENLARGED.

in filigree; the spirals, which are held together by triple wire bands, terminate alternately in a three-petal ornament having a pellet center, and in bunches of grapes represented, in alternate

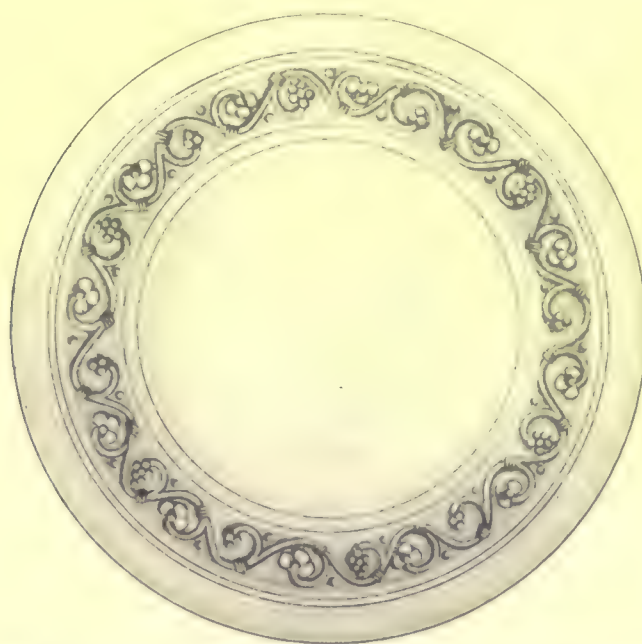


FIG. 17. DETAIL SKETCH OF THE INNER BAND OF ORNAMENTATION ENCLOSING THE FREER MEDALLION, NO. 2. ORIGINAL SIZE.

order, by seven and by three pellets; in the intervening spaces are small pellets (Fig. 17). This ornamentation, as previously noted, is substantially identical with that of the gold pectoral (p. 111).

The outer band (Fig. 15, *i-m*; 0.012 m. wide, including the globules) is soldered *à jour* to the circumference of the inner (Fig.

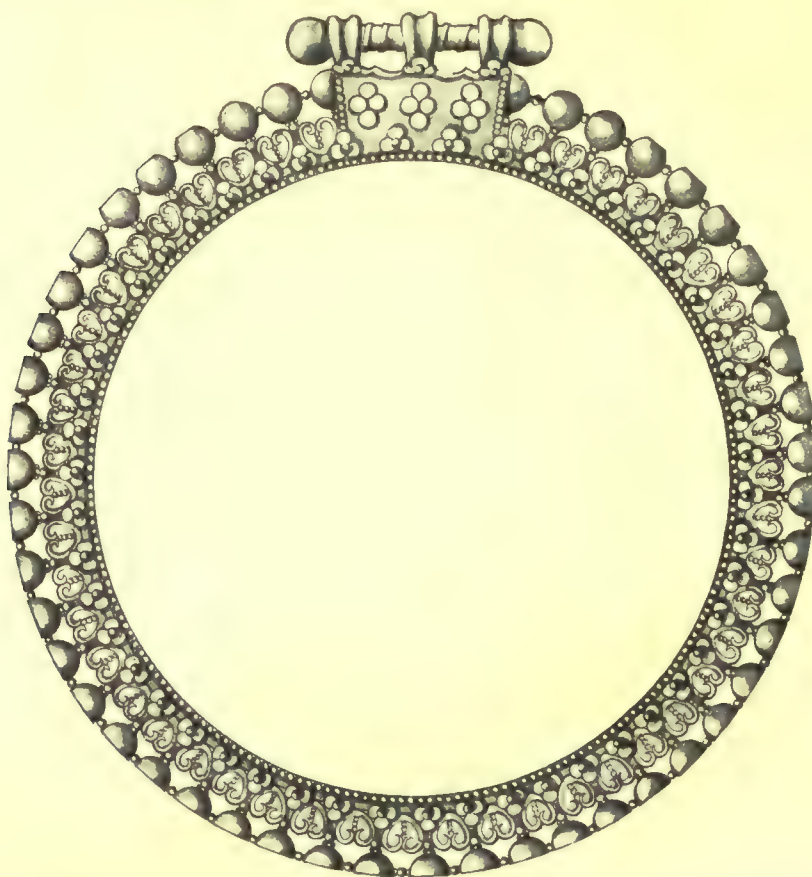


FIG. 18. DETAIL SKETCH OF THE OUTER BAND OF ORNAMENTATION ENCLOSING THE FREER MEDALLION, NO. 2. ORIGINAL SIZE.

16). It is bordered on the inside by a beaded wire (Fig. 15, *i*), and has on the outside a row of pearl-shaped globules (Fig. 15, *m*). These have been flattened by some means on their outer hemispheres, and it is a noteworthy fact that the flattening is greatest on the lower side of the medallion and decreases with almost mathematical accuracy along the sides toward the top, where the last three on each side are wholly round (Fig. 18). The globules are mounted on upright stems capped with pellets, and are con-

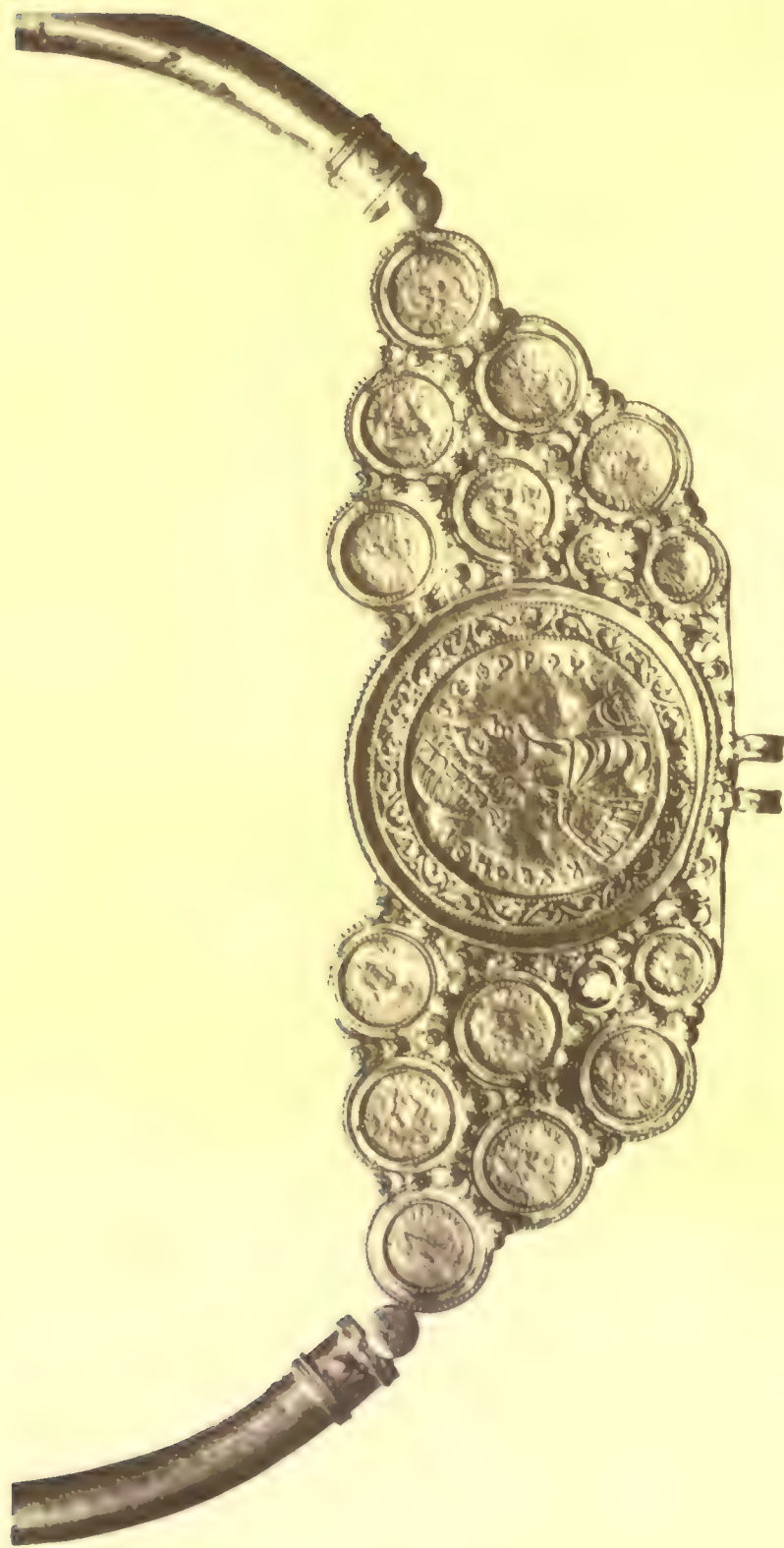


PLATE XIII



PICCOLA WITH MEDALLION AND COINS
VON GANS COLLECTION. No. 3, REVERSE.

nected by wires, an arrangement which gives the impression of a string of pearls; below each of these globules is a three-petal ornament with a pellet at its centre (Fig. 15, *k*). Between the inner and outer edges are bow-spirals, surrounding a beaded standard (Fig. 15, *l*).

The cross section (Fig. 16) illustrates the manner in which the goldsmith assembled and soldered the various parts.

At the top of the medallion are three ribbed rings and a hinge screw (0.03 m. long, shown in Fig. 18), for attaching to the pectoral. The screw (Fig. 19), which is removed by turning from left to right, was made by winding a wire spirally about a plain stem. The pin is capped with a globule corresponding to one at

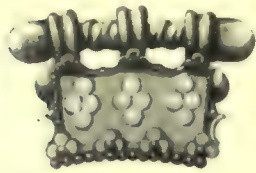


FIG. 20. DETAIL OF CLASP BAR OF THE FREER MEDALLION, NO. 2.

the other end of the hinge. The rings of the hinge are fastened to the frame by a wide clasp bar edged with a beaded wire (Fig. 20), its surface being decorated with three groups of four petals. The base of each ring has on the obverse a three-petal ornament, with pellet centre, and on the reverse a plain pellet.

The similarity of details on this object and on the Morgan pectoral (no. 1, p. 109) confirms the conclusion that the two were originally designed to be worn together, as shown in Plate I.

3. GOLD PECTORAL ORNAMENTED WITH COINS. VON GANS COLLECTION. PLATES XII, XIII, XVII

This pectoral is a counterpart of the other (no. 1), and either was made by the same goldsmith, or at least patterned after it; a complete description is, therefore, unnecessary, except where there is a difference in details of design. The weight of the pectoral is 377 grammes.

The neck-ring and the frame are almost perfectly preserved. The width is 0.235 m., and the length, not including the hinge, is the same; the hollow tube of the neck-ring is 0.01 m. in diameter. In the decoration of the neck-ring a plain wire was used in place of the zigzag. The hinge is fastened with a smooth pin (Fig. 21), instead of a screw.

The workmanship and decoration of the frame are nearly



FIG. 19. SKETCH OF THE SCREW PIN OF THE FREER MEDALLION, NO. 2. ORIGINAL SIZE.



FIG. 21. SKETCH OF SMOOTH PIN USED TO FASTEN THE NECK-RING OF THE VON GANS PECTORAL, NO. 3.

identical with that of the Morgan pectoral; apparently only three pellets, instead of four, were used to represent bunches of grapes, and at the joints of the vine double instead of triple wires are found. The coins used to ornament the frame were apparently all struck at Constantinople and are uniformly of a later date, namely, those of Justinus II, Mauricius Tiberius, Justinian I, and Tiberius II Constantinus. It is, therefore, possible that this pectoral was made somewhat later than the one in the Morgan collection.

The sketch (Plate XIV) shows the position of the medallion and of each coin described.

a. Large medallion

The large medallion in the centre (Plate XII; diameter, including the beaded wire, 0.059 m.; width of edge of frame, 0.003 m.) is an imitation of a struck coin, and consists of two separate plates, one for the obverse and one for the reverse. On the obverse is shown the bust of an emperor represented in the same way as on the large medallion of the Morgan pectoral; the type on the reverse is the same as on the obverse, with the exception of CO2N in exergue (see Plate XIII). The details on both sides, however, are not as fine, or as carefully worked out, as on the Morgan example. On the other hand the chiselled legend, which is the same on both sides, is plain: ΚΥΒΟΗΘΙ ΤΕΦΟΡΟΥCΑ, κύ(ριε), βοήθει τῇ φορούσῃ, 'Lord, succour the wearer.'¹ The final letter on the obverse is only lightly outlined. A line, lightly incised around the outer edge of the letters, apparently served as guide. It is to be noted that in the legend the participle, referring to the wearer, is in the feminine gender.

b. Semissis² of Justinus II (Emperor, 565-578 A.D.)

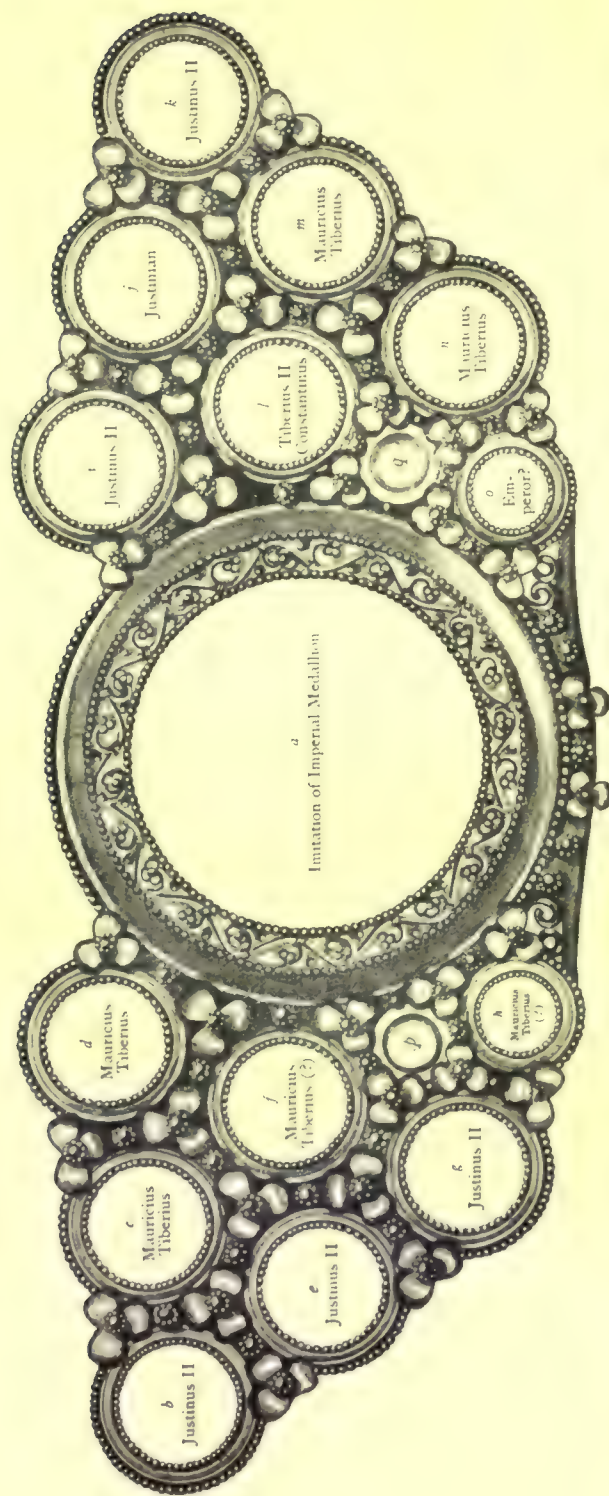
Obverse, bust of the emperor, facing right, wearing diadem, cuirass, and military cloak. Legend (partly concealed by solder), [DN IVS]TI NVS PP AVG, [*D(ominus) N(oster), Ius]tinus, P(er)-p(etuus) Aug(ustus)*], 'Our lord, Justinus, forever Augustus.'

Reverse, [VICTORI]A AVGGG, *Victoria Augustorum Trium*, 'Victory of the three Augusti.' Victory, with the upper part of

¹ This acclamation occurs on rings (Cabrol, *Dict.*, I, pp. 2220, 2221, article, "Anneaux"; Dalton, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings in the British Museum*, London, 1912, nos. 59-64), and elsewhere. On the rings the participle referring to the wearer is in some cases masculine, in others feminine, and in the genitive, dative, and accusative cases.

² On the names of the coins see p. 112, footnote 1.

PLATE XIV



DETAIL SKETCH OF THE DECORATIVE FRAME OF THE VON GANS PECTORAL, NO. 3. THE POSITION OF THE COINS IS INDICATED. SLIGHTLY ENLARGED.

the body naked, seated to the right, holds before her a shield; on this with her right hand she inscribes numerals, which are rudely represented by dots. In the right field is the Christian monogram, Γ ; in the left, a star; in exergue, CONOB (letters not clear).¹ The type is shown in Fig. 22.

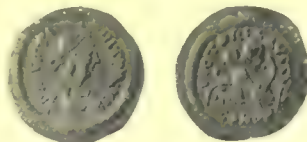


FIG. 22. COIN OF JUSTINUS II
OF THE SAME TYPE AS *b*.

c. Tremissis of Mauricius Tiberius (582–602 A.D.)

Obverse, bust of the emperor, represented as on the obverse of *b*. Legend, DN TIBE RI PP AVG, *D(ominus) N(oster), Tiberi(us), P(er)p(etuus) Aug(ustus)*, 'Our lord, Tiberius, forever Augustus.'



FIG. 23. COIN OF MAURICIUS
TIBERIUS OF THE SAME TYPE
AS *c*.

Reverse, VICTORI MAVRI AVG, *Victori(a) Mauri(cii) Aug(usti)*, 'Victory of Mauricius Augustus.' In the centre is the cross potent; in exergue, CONOB.²

The type is shown in Fig. 23, where the terminal cross-bars of the cross potent are distinctly seen.

d. Semissis of Mauricius Tiberius

Obverse, bust of the emperor, represented as on the obverse of *b*. Legend, DN TIBE RAV PP AVG, *D(ominus) N(oster), Tiber[ius] P(er)p(etuus) Aug(ustus)*, 'Our lord, Tiberius, forever Augustus.'

Reverse, VICTORI A AVGG, *Victoria Augustorum Duorum*, 'Victory of the two Augusti.' Victory, in chiton, advances to the front, looking back left; she holds in the right hand a wreath; in the left, a globe surmounted by a cross. In the right field is a star; in exergue, CONOB.³ The type is shown in Fig. 24.



FIG. 24. COIN OF MAURICIUS
TIBERIUS OF A TYPE SIMILAR
TO THAT OF *d*.

e. Semissis of Justinus II

Obverse, bust of the emperor, represented as on the obverse of *b*. Legend, also as on *b*, DN IVSTI NVS PP AVG.

¹ Cf. Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, I, p. 76, nos. 17–20, Pl. XI, 3, 4; also, see above, p. 111, footnote 2.

² Wroth, I, p. 129, nos. 17–23, Pl. XVII, 5.

³ Wroth, I, p. 129, nos. 15, 16, and compare Pl. XVII, 4.

Reverse, VICTORIA AVGGG. Victory is represented nearly as on the reverse of *b*. In the right field, ♀; in the left, a star; in exergue, CONOB.¹ The type is similar to that in Fig. 22.

f. Coin of Mauricius Tiberius (?)

Obverse, bust of an emperor, represented as on the obverse of *b*. The legend is partly concealed by the frame; only /////Λ PP AVG can be made out.

Reverse, partly concealed by solder, VICI///// AVGG. Victory is represented nearly as on the reverse of *d*; in exergue, CONOB. Cf. Fig. 24.

g. Tremissis of Justinus II

Obverse, bust of the emperor, represented as on the obverse of *b*. Legend, DN IVSTI NVS PP AVG.

Reverse, VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM. Victory is represented as on the reverse of *d*; in exergue, CONOB.² Cf. Figs. 22 and 24.

h. Coin of Mauricius Tiberius (?)

Obverse, bust of an emperor, represented as on the obverse of *b*; the legend cannot be made out.

Reverse, VICTOR MA/////. In the centre a cross potent; in exergue, CONOB.³

i. Tremissis of Justinus II

This coin is apparently of the same type as *e*. Cf. Figs. 22 and 24.

j. Tremissis of Justinianus I (527-565 A.D.)

Obverse, bust of the emperor, represented as on the obverse of *b*. The legend is DN IVSTINI ANVS PP AVG, as p. 113, *e*.

Reverse, VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM; the letters are not all perfectly clear. Victory is represented as on the reverse of *d*. In the right field is a star; in exergue, CONOB.⁴ Cf. Fig. 24.

k. Semissis of Justinus II

This coin is apparently of the same type as *e*, although the letters on the reverse are not all clear. Cf. Fig. 22.

¹ Wroth, I, p. 77, no 20, Pl. XI, 4.

² Wroth, I, p. 77, no. 21, Pl. XI, 5.

³ Cf. Wroth, I, p. 129, nos. 17 fol., especially no. 23.

⁴ Wroth, I, p. 28, no. 22, Pl. IV, 14.

l. Semissis of Tiberius II Constantinus (574-582 A.D.)

Obverse, bust of the emperor, represented as on the obverse of *b*; legend (partly hidden by the frame), *DN COSTANTINVS /// D(ominus) N(oster), Co(n)stantinus...*, 'Our lord, Constantine...'

Reverse, *VICTOR TIB ///, Victor(ia) Tib[er]i...*, 'Victory of Tiberius.' In the centre, a cross potent; beneath is a globe; in exergue, *CONOB.*¹ A similar type is shown in Fig. 25.

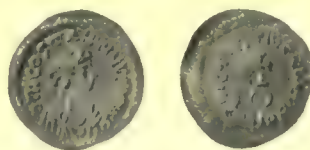


FIG. 25. COIN OF TIBERIUS II
CONSTANTINUS OF A TYPE
SIMILAR TO THAT OF *l*.

m. Tremissis of Mauricius Tiberius

Obverse, bust of the emperor, represented as on the obverse of *b*. Legend, partly concealed by solder, *RI PP AVG*, [*D(ominus) N(oster), Mau[ri]cius, P(er)p(etuus) Aug(ustus)*], 'Our lord, Mauricius, forever Augustus.'

Reverse, *RI MAVRI AVS*, [*Victo]ri(a) Mauri(cii) Aug(usti)*, 'Victory of Mauricius Augustus.' In the centre a cross potent; in exergue, *CONOB.*² This coin is apparently of the same type as *c*; cf. Fig. 23.

n. Coin of Mauricius Tiberius

Obverse, bust of the emperor, represented as on the obverse of *b*. Legend, *DN TIB RA PP AVG*, [*D(ominus) N(oster), Tiber[i](us), P(er)p(etuus) Aug(ustus)*], 'Our lord, Tiberius, forever Augustus.'

Reverse, *VICTOR IA AVGG*, as on *d*; the letters are not all distinct. Victory is represented as on the reverse of *d*; in exergue, *CONOB.*³ Cf. Fig. 24.

o. Coin of Mauricius Tiberius (?) or Justinus II (?)

Obverse, bust of an emperor, represented as on the obverse of *b*. The legend cannot be deciphered.

Reverse, legend difficult to decipher. Victory is represented as on the reverse of *d*; in exergue, *///B*. Cf. Fig. 24.

p, q. Gold disks

In the spaces *p* and *q* were small disks. That on the left has been broken out; that on the right bears the inscription $\begin{smallmatrix} \Phi \\ \text{ZOH.} \\ \text{C} \end{smallmatrix}$.

¹ Wroth, I, p. 107, nos. 12, 13, Pl. XIV, 1.

² Wroth, I, p. 129, nos. 17-23, Pl. XVII, 5.

³ Cf. Wroth, I, pp. 129 fol.

The same legend occurs on the oval bezel of a silver ring,¹ on a small, round pendant now in the Metropolitan Museum (unpublished), on a cross of the fifth or sixth century now in the Cairo

Museum,² and elsewhere. This is an acrostic: $\overset{\phi}{\zeta\omega\eta}$, that is, $\zeta\omega\eta$,

$\phi\omega\varsigma$, evidently inspired by John I, 4, $\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\ \zeta\omega\eta\ \overset{s}{\eta}\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \eta\ \zeta\omega\eta\ \overset{s}{\eta}\nu\ \tau\omicron\ \phi\omega\varsigma\ \tau\omega\nu\ \alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omega\nu$, 'In him was life; and the life was the light of men.' These were considered words of good omen; they are found scratched on a door jamb at Sardes.³ A prophylactic interpretation is further supported by the content of the legend on the accompanying medallion (no. 4). The prophylactic character of this medallion, which was perhaps originally attached to the pectoral, is discussed elsewhere (pp. 107, 135).

THE SETTING

The frames surrounding the coins, and the ornamental borders, are quite similar to those of the Morgan pectoral, but the places of the nine-petal ornament at the sides of the large medallion are taken by an enlarged three-petal design. The horizontal strip, to which are soldered two ribbed rings for attaching some object below, is decorated with rosettes and the three-petal ornament with pellet centre. On either side is a bow-spiral, with beaded standard, as on the Morgan pectoral. The rings are so large, and so firmly fastened, that it is unlikely that the cross (no. 35), which was attached to the pectoral when purchased, belongs with it. It is more probable that the pendant was an object as large as the Annunciation medallion (no. 4) which is shown photographed with the pectoral in Plate XVII. It is noteworthy that the coins were so selected that the face of the emperor in all of them is turned to the right, while in the other pectoral all but three face full front.

This pectoral is less carefully and less artistically executed than certain other pieces in the von Gans group, particularly the Annunciation medallion (no. 4), and the bracelets with double medallion face (nos. 30, 31), although it evidently belongs with them. The explanation may well be, as Professor Zahn has suggested to the writer, that the pectoral was made by a later and less

¹ Dalton, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings in the British Museum*, no. 71.

² Strzygowski, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Koptische Kunst* (Vienna, 1904), no. 9177; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, II, p. 416.

³ *American Journal of Archaeology*, XVIII (1914), p. 44.



LARGE FRAMED MEDALLION
VON GANS COLLECTION. No. 4. OBVERSE



LARGE FRAMED MEDALLION
VON GANS COLLECTION. NO. 4. REVERSE

skilful goldsmith, who tried unsuccessfully to equal the technique and style of the other objects.

4. LARGE GOLD MEDALLION. VON GANS COLLECTION.
PLATES XV, XVI, XVII

This medallion (weight 170 grammes, diameter, 0.117 m.) is somewhat similar in size and general appearance to the Freer medallion (no. 2). The centre (diameter about 0.058 m.) is not a medallion coin and is not solid; the technique of both the obverse and reverse is similar to that employed on the central medallions of the pectorals (nos. 1 and 3). In a communication to the writer Professor Zahn describes as follows the manner in which the reliefs were made: Die Bilder wie auch der schräge Rand um das Rundbild sind leicht herausgetrieben, hauptsächlich aber ist der feine Meissel verwendet. Mit ihm sind alle Konture, wie auch alle Linien der Innenzeichnung eingeschlagen. Man sieht überall deutlich wie ein Meisselschlag über den anderen gesetzt ist. Der Grund, der beim Treiben uneben geworden war, wurde mit breitem Punzen niedergeschlagen und geebnet. Man erkennt deutlich die einzelnen Schläge auf dem Grunde.

On the obverse (Plate XV) is a representation of the Annunciation. The Virgin is seated at the left, in a high-backed wicker chair, facing nearly full front; her feet rest on a stool. She is dressed in a tunic and mantle; the mantle is drawn up over her head, which is surrounded by a halo. The right hand is raised in a gesture of wonder and astonishment; the drooping left hand holds a strand of wool, which falls into a work-basket at the Virgin's feet. Mary is thus represented as spinning, as in the Apocryphal account. The angel, Gabriel, advances from the right, with face nearly full front, wearing a tunic, mantle, and sandals; his hair is bound with a fillet. Gabriel raises his right hand in a gesture of benediction; his left hand holds a staff terminating in a cross. The bars of the cross, in distinction from that on the reverse side of the medallion, have rounded corners, and Zahn queries whether it may not have been a lily rather than a cross that the artist wished to represent. The halo is chiselled, as are also details of the dress of both figures, the wicker-work of the chair and basket, and the feathers of the angel's wings.

The reverse (Plate XVI) represents the miracle at the marriage in Cana. At the left stands Christ, wearing tunic and mantle. The left foot is advanced. The left hand holds what appears to be a roll; with the right hand our Lord extends the cross-headed staff. The outline of the halo is chiselled; the halo itself is a raised relief across which six short lines are chiselled to represent the three arms of the cross. In the centre of the scene stands a male figure, facing, dressed in a long tunic. He



FIG. 26. THE ANNUNCIATION ON THE PIGNATTA SARCOPHAGUS AT RAVENNA (FIFTH CENTURY OR LATER).

The Virgin raises the spindle in her left hand, from which the wool falls into the basket. The right hand, now broken off, was raised.

holds a cup in his right hand, and raises the left hand in a gesture which suggests wonder at the performance of the miracle; he is perhaps the 'ruler of the feast,' ἀρχιτρίκλιος (John II, 9). At the right is a figure dressed in a short tunic and carrying on his left shoulder a vessel, probably an amphora, from which he pours water into one of six round jars. This scene of the miracle, as Zahn¹ points out, was evidently in the mind of Bishop Maximus of Turin (first half of the fifth century)

when he wrote (*Hom.* 23²): 'The attendant, who brought water and carried away wine, was struck dumb with astonishment, and rejoiced exceedingly that he had borne upon his own shoulders the liquid through which the glory of God was revealed.'³ In John II, 6 λίθιναι ὑδρίαί ἐξ, 'six water-pots of stone,' are mentioned.

Details of the dress and hair of the three figures are indicated by chiselling. The legend is +ΠΡΩΤΑ CYMI WN+, that is, πρῶτα

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

² *Stupuit ergo minister attonitus qui aquas miserat et vina sumebat, laetatusque nimium illa se suis humeris fluentia portasse, per quae Dei esset gloria revelata.*

³ See Garrucci, *Storia dell' Arte cristiana*, I, p. 378.

σημείων, 'First of the signs.' This was obviously suggested by John II, 11, ἀρχὴν τῶν σημείων, 'beginning of miracles.'

The medallion centre has a bevelled rim, with a beaded border, and the whole is surrounded by a beautiful openwork frame. The frame is edged with a bevelled rim and a heavy beaded wire suggesting pearls, as on the other medallions (nos. 2, 5, 6, and 7). With the exception of the beaded wire, which is soldered to the outer edge, the frame and the center medallion representing the Annunciation are made from one piece. The frame has three bands of decoration; the inner one (0.005 m. wide) is a variation of the lotus bud ornament; the middle one (0.01 m. wide) is an adaptation of the lotus and palmette ornament; and the outer one (0.006 m. wide) has a design similar to that on the inner band, but wrought on a larger scale. Chiselling was employed to outline the leaf ornamentation. The reverse is left rough, as it was not intended to be seen, and the medallion centre has no ornamental rim.

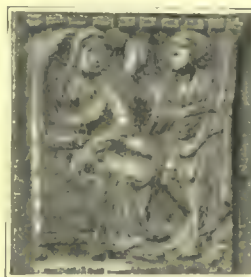


FIG. 27. THE ANNUNCIATION ON THE IVORY BOOK-COVER OF THE ETSCHMIADZIN GOSPEL (SIXTH CENTURY).

At the top of the medallion is a hinge of three ribbed rings, finished with a gold pearl. It was, therefore, designed to be attached to another object, possibly the pectoral, no. 3 (see above, p. 126). Since the left ring is threaded, a screw pin must have been used. The hinge was soldered to the rim and was further strengthened by a rectangular frame fastened to the reverse of the medallion, a gold strip having been inserted in the hollow of the rim. Each of the rings is decorated on the obverse with the three-petal ornament having a pellet centre.

The miracle scenes here depicted are readily associated with other extant representations, some of which are of undoubted Egyptian origin. As a result of a comparison it will be possible to draw certain general conclusions concerning their provenance, and the school by which they were produced.

The type of the Annunciation scene,¹ in which the Virgin is seated, occurs on the Pignatta sarcophagus at Ravenna, dated

¹ Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, article "Annonciation." The Annunciation is represented in the paintings of the Roman catacombs only twice, and these paintings belong to the end of the second and the middle of the third centuries (Wilpert, *Ein Cyklus christologischer Gemälde* (Freiburg, 1891), pp. 3, 19, Pl. i-iv).

in the fifth century (Fig. 26).¹ It is found also on the following six objects, which are all of the sixth century: the ivory book



FIG. 28. THE ANNUNCIATION ON AN IVORY OF THE CHAIR OF MAXIMIANUS (SIXTH CENTURY).

cover of the Etschmiadzin Gospel (Fig. 27)²; an ivory from the chair of Maximianus at Ravenna (Fig. 28)³; an ivory in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Fig. 29)⁴; a portion of an ivory book cover in the Stroganoff Collection at Rome⁵; the Minden pyxis in Berlin⁶; and a mosaic in the Parenzo Cathedral.⁷ It appears, further, on a gold encolpion from Adana, now in Constantinople, dated by Strzygowski about the year 600 (Fig. 30)⁸; on the seventh century ivory diptych in the Uvaroff Collection in Moscow (Fig. 31)⁹; on a silk textile of the sixth or seventh century in the Vatican¹⁰; and on a piece of dyed linen from Egypt of the fourth or fifth century, now in London.¹¹

¹ Liell, *Die Darstellungen der . . . Maria* (Freiburg, 1887), p. 214, Fig. 9; Cabrol, *Dict.*, I, p. 2259, Fig. 764. This sarcophagus may be somewhat later than the fifth century.

² Strzygowski, *Byzantinische Denkmäler* (Vienna, 1891), I, Taf. i.

³ Garrucci, *op. cit.*, 417, 1.

⁴ Garrucci, *op. cit.*, 458, 2.

⁵ Strzygowski, *Hellenistische und Koptische Kunst* (Vienna, 1902), Fig. 64.

⁶ Garrucci, *op. cit.*, 437, 4.

⁷ Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Fig. 219.

⁸ *Byz. Denk.*, I, Taf. VII; Cabrol, I, p. 1820, Fig. 485.

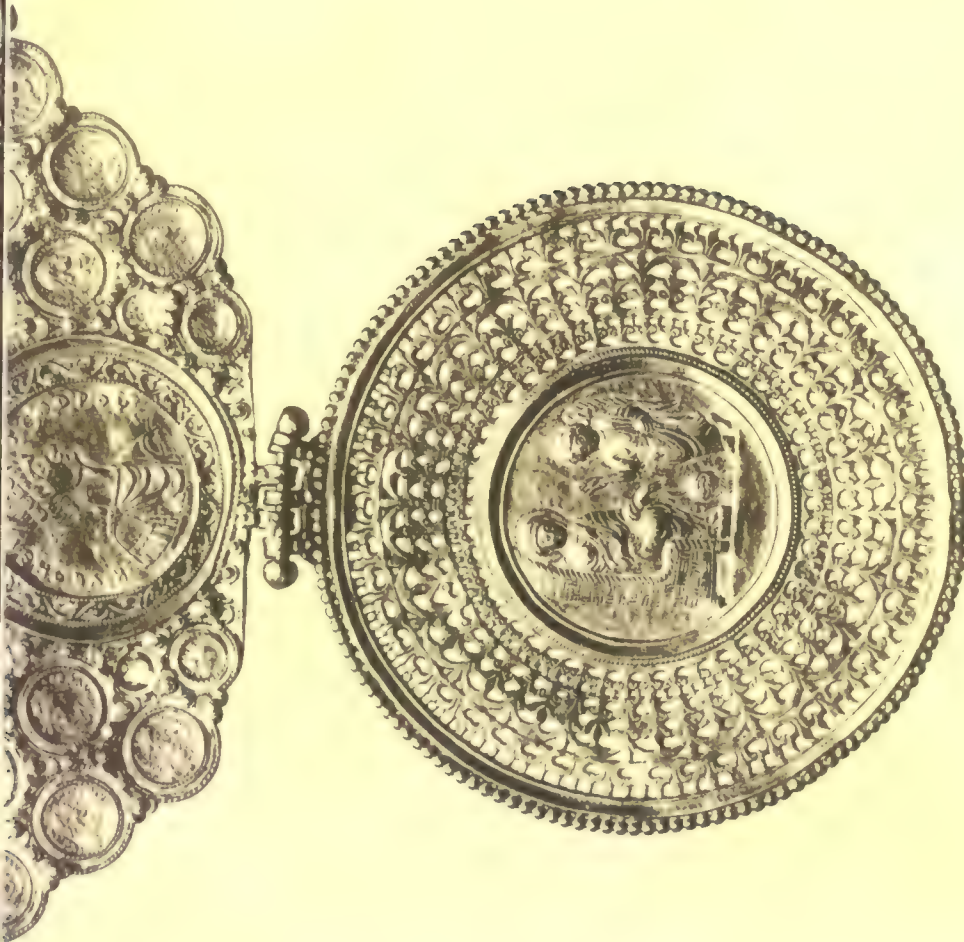
⁹ *Byz. Denk.*, I, p. 42.

¹⁰ *Monuments*, . . . *Fondation Piot*, vol. XV (1906), Pl. XV; Dalton, *op. cit.*, Fig. 378.

¹¹ Lethaby, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, vol. XXIV (1912), pp. 286-297, Fig. 1. For two other similar representations of the Annunciation see Pelka, *Ein Syro-palästinensisches Räuchergefäß*, *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, 1906, p. 86, Taf. IV, V; and Breccia, *Rapport sur la marche du service du Musée* (Municipalité d'Alexandrie) en 1912, p. 6, Plate IV.

PLATE XVII





PICTORIAL AND NICK-RING WITH LARGE FRAMED MEDALLION ATTACHED
VON GANS COLLECTION. Nos. 3 AND 4
REDUCED IN SIZE.

In all these representations, except the Parenzo mosaic, Mary sits at the left, and the attitudes of both the Virgin and the angel are strikingly similar, although variations occur in certain details, as the halo, the work-basket, the chair of the Virgin, and the staff of the angel. As an inspection of the illustrations will make plain, the types nearest to that of our medallion occur on two objects that are undoubtedly of Egyptian origin, the Uvaroff and the Stroganoff ivories. A remarkable resemblance is seen in the uplifted right hand and drooping left hand of the Virgin, and in the position of the angel holding in his left hand the cross-headed staff. The Annunciation scene on the encolpion from Adana, a scene which, Strzygowski seems inclined to think, betrays Egyptian influence, is also



FIG. 29. THE ANNUNCIATION ON AN IVORY IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS (SIXTH CENTURY).

In details this scene is remarkably similar to that represented on the Etschmiadzin Ivory Fig. 27.



FIG. 30. THE ANNUNCIATION ON A GOLD ENCOLPION FROM ADANA (CIR. 600 A.D.).

The scene of the Annunciation occupies the left half of the upper zone.

very similar (Fig. 30). Here the Virgin, with the nimbus, sits on a throne having a high back; her right hand is held before her breast; her left hand, raised, holds the end of a thick strand of wool, which falls into a basket on the ground. The angel has wings and a nimbus, and is dressed in the tunic and pallium; his left hand is visible under his dress, the right hand being raised in the customary gesture. The legend reads, *χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ*, 'Hail, thou that art highly favored, the Lord is with thee' (Luke i, 28).¹

¹ An Annunciation with this inscription occurs also on a gold ring in the British Museum, published by Dalton, *Catalogue of Finger Rings, Early Christian*, etc. (London, 1912), no. 39.

The Etschmiadzin book cover (Fig. 27), the ivory at Paris (Fig. 29), and the ivory of the chair of Maximianus (Fig. 28) likewise show a close relationship to the Berlin medallion in spite of its inferior workmanship.

Representations, similar to ours, of the miracle of the Marriage at Cana are found on an ivory of the chair of Maximianus,¹ on a mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna (Fig. 32),² and on a



FIG. 31. THE ANNUNCIATION ON AN IVORY DIPTYCH IN THE UVAROFF COLLECTION.

The attitude of the Virgin is strikingly similar to that represented on the Berlin medallion; here also the angel carries a cross-bearing staff.

somewhat damaged painting, of perhaps the sixth century, in the subterranean church of Deir Abou Hennys, near the ancient Antinoë.³

The example from near Antinoë, a site where, according to one

¹ Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, I, p. 418, 4.

² Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, II, p. 1810, Fig. 1988.

³ Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, I, Fig. 792. The earliest representations of the miracle in the Roman catacombs are of the third and middle of the fourth centuries (Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* (Freiburg, 1903), pp. 302-304, Pls. 57, 105, 186; and see Lamberton, *Themes from St. John's Gospels in Early Roman Catacomb Painting*, pp. 117-124.

report (p. 98), our treasure was discovered, represents four figures. The Virgin is at the left, next to her is Christ extending his staff over the jars; in the center is the 'ruler of the feast' (*ἀρχιτέκτωνος*), and at the right the attendant is pouring water from an amphora into the jars. On the chair of Maximianus Christ stands at the right, holding the cross-bearing staff in his left hand and extends his right hand over the jars, of which there are six, tall,



FIG. 32. THE MIRACLE AT CANA ON A MOSAIC IN THE CHURCH OF S. APOLLINARE NUOVO AT RAVENNA (SIXTH CENTURY).

The mosaic has been partially restored.

and shaped like amphorae. At the left is a bearded figure holding a cup in his right hand, and raising his left in a gesture of surprise; this figure seems to correspond to the *ἀρχιτέκτωνος* of our medallion. In the centre is a bearded figure holding a book, perhaps an apostle. In the Ravenna mosaic, which has been partly restored (Fig. 32), Christ at the left extends his hands in the performance of the miracle.

Other less related examples of the first miracle are figured in the article "Cana," in Cabrol's *Dictionnaire*. There is great diversity in the representations, for the reason, no doubt, that the miracle at Cana early became symbolic of the eucharistic transubstantiation. At one time Christ alone appears with the jars, at another he is accompanied by his apostles or by the Virgin,

and occasionally there are two attendants instead of one. The jars are usually six in number, but sometimes there are seven, or five, or even fewer.¹

It is generally agreed among scholars that the non-portable monuments referred to as close parallels were produced somewhere in the Christian East; but in the case of some there is a difference of opinion whether they were made in Egypt, where Alexandria was the centre of art production, or in Syria, where Antioch was the centre. Strzygowski generally advocates the latter view, and calls the type representing the Virgin seated in a wicker chair the Syro-Palestinian type; yet he assigns the Stroganoff ivory to Egypt, and indeed ascribes it to the "Mönchkunst des Hinterlandes."² Strzygowski thinks that the Uvaroff ivory also is an Egyptian product.

The origin of the chair of Bishop Maximianus at Ravenna, which from its artistic character and good preservation naturally assumes great importance in the discussion of eastern sixth century ivories, is also disputed. Strzygowski refers it to Antioch, while Diehl³ and Leclercq⁴ maintain that it came from an Alexandrian atelier.⁵

Approaching the problem of the attribution of our medallion from another point of view, we find that a comparison of its reliefs with a group of objects undoubtedly Egyptian and products of Coptic art, lends strength to the supposition that the von Gans medallion may be classed as Coptic. The heavy, wavy folds of hair resembling a wig, especially prominent on the two figures at the right in the scene of the Marriage at Cana, occur characteristically in Coptic art.⁶ The round, bulging eyes, with a drilled indentation for the pupil, are also a Coptic peculiarity;⁷ the staff ending in a cross likewise appears on objects of Coptic

¹ The details are given in an interesting article, *Vases de Cana*, by F. de Mély, in *Monuments . . . Fondation Piot*, X (1903), pp. 145-170.

² *Hellenistische und Koptische Kunst*, p. 85.

³ *Manuel d'Art byzantin* (Paris, 1910), p. 281.

⁴ *Manuel d'Archéologie chrétienne* (Paris, 1907), p. 352.

⁵ Mr. E. Baldwin Smith, of Princeton University, who is at present engaged in the preparation of a study of early Christian iconography, has set forth the evidence for the Alexandrian origin of the chair in an article in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1917, pp. 22-37.

⁶ Crum, *Catalogue général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Coptic Monuments* (Cairo, 1902), Pl. I-liv; Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst* (Vienna, 1904), Pl. xvii; Gayet, *L'Art copte* (Paris, 1902), pp. 90, 213.

⁷ Crum, *op. cit.*, nos. 8684, 8685, 8687, 8702; Gayet, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

PLATE XVIII



SMALL FRAMED MEDALLION
FREER COLLECTION. No. 5. OBTVERSE AND REVERSE

PLATE XIX



ENLARGEMENT (FOUR TIMES) OF THE FREER MEDALLION, NO. 5,
OBSERVE AND REVERSE

origin.¹ The rendering of the drapery, and the designs of the frame, furthermore, tend to favor this attribution.² Attention is elsewhere called (p. 102) to a possible Coptic influence in designs that appear on other objects in this collection.

Possibly there is a significance in the choice of subjects represented on the medallion; at any rate both depict scenes in which faith is exemplified. In the account of the miracle at the marriage feast the Evangelist expressly says (John II, 11): *καὶ ἐφάνερωσεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ*, 'and manifested forth his glory; and his disciples believed on him.' There can be little doubt that the entire piece was devotional, an encolpion (see p. 107), and that it was believed to possess a prophylactic power (see also pp. 107, 122, 126).

Zahn (*op. cit.*, p. 94) calls attention to the fact that the reverse of the medallion was left rough, and was therefore not intended to be visible, despite the fact that a relief decorates this side as well as the obverse; he cites the analogy of coins set in a frame leaving both obverse and reverse visible, and raises the question whether the empty space between the reliefs was not intended as a reliquary. He assigns the medallion to the fifth century, and on account of a similarity of style associates it with the bracelets (nos. 30 and 31, p. 159), concluding that bracelets as well as medallion were intended for masculine adornment. He thinks that the medallion was attached to the pectoral (no. 3, Pl. XVII), although the latter, from the evidence of its coins and its inferior workmanship, is clearly of a later date. To the writer it seems more probable that the medallion should be dated in the sixth or early seventh century.³

5. SMALL GOLD MEDALLION. FREER COLLECTION. PLATE XVIII

This medallion (0.038 m. in diameter) consists of a gold *solidus* of Justinian I (527-565 A.D.), enclosed in a gold frame. The coin was struck at Constantinople. The weight of the medallion is 15.5 grammes.

¹ Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, Pl. xvii.

² Mr. E. Baldwin Smith, whose work in this field was mentioned above, is strongly of the opinion that the medallion is a Coptic derivative of the ivories on the chair of Maximianus. Cf. his article cited, pp. 28 and 30.

³ This medallion is mentioned and briefly described in Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst* (Berlin, 1913; in Burger, *Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*, p. 200).

The obverse of the coin shows a bust of the emperor, facing. He wears a plumed helmet and armor. His right hand holds a globe surmounted by a cross, his left hand holds a shield. The legend is DN IVSTINI ANVS PP AVG, *D(ominus) N(oster), Iustinianus, P(er)p(etuus) Aug(ustus)*, 'Our lord, Justinian, forever Augustus.' This coin was struck in 538 A.D., or a little later, and presents a real portrait of the emperor, who was described as having a round face and ruddy complexion. The type may be compared with that of the mosaic portrait (Plate II), which was made about 557 A.D..

On the reverse is a Winged Victory wearing chiton and peplos; the figure stands facing, and holds in the right hand a long cross surmounted by the letter P, in the left a globe surmounted



FIG. 33. COIN OF JUSTINIAN I OF THE SAME TYPE AS THAT ON THE FREER MEDALLION, NO. 5.

by a cross. The legend is VICTORI A AVGGGZ, *Victoria Augustorum Trium*, ζ, 'Victory of the three Augusti, from the seventh section of the mint.' In the field at the right is a star; in exergue, CONOB,¹ partly blurred by the solder. In Fig. 33 the same type is given, from an example in the British Museum.

The frame is edged with a gold-beaded wire on a concave rim; similar detail, from the companion piece (no. 7), is shown in Fig. 35. Between the rim and the coin is a plain band, bordered on both sides with a small spiral design, chiselled free hand, as shown (for no. 7) in Fig. 36; and on this band is an inscription, also chiselled, in Greek: + ΟΤΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΝΤΕΛΕΙΤΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΣΟΥ ~ (ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ); this is a quotation of the first half of verse 11 of the Ninety-first Psalm: "For he shall give his angels charge over thee." The latter half of the verse appears on the companion medallion, no. 6. A description of the rings soldered to the edge is given on p. 139. An enlargement of both obverse and reverse is shown in Plate XIX.

The spiral motive employed on this and the companion medallions (nos. 6 and 7; Fig. 36) and the Morgan bracelets (nos. 26-29) remind one of the chain border often used on Coptic monuments.²

¹ See p. 111, footnote 2; Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, I, p. 27, no. 15, Pl. IV, 11.

² For example, Crum, *op. cit.*, nos. 8612, 8626, 8630, 8667, 8670, 8685; Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, no. 7215, 7369; Gayet, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

PLATE XX



SMALL FRAMED MEDALLION

FRIELER COLLECTION. NO. 6, OBLVERSE AND REVERSE

PLATE XXI



ENLARGEMENT (FOUR TIMES) OF THE FREER MEDALLION, NO. 6,
OBVERSE AND REVERSE

6. SMALL GOLD MEDALLION. FREER COLLECTION. PLATE XX

This medallion (0.039 m. in diameter) consists of a *solidus* of Justinus II (565–578 A.D.) set in a gold frame similar to that of no. 5. The coin was struck at Constantinople. The weight of the medallion is 17.4 grammes.

The obverse of the coin shows a bust of the emperor, facing. He wears a plumed helmet and armor; his right hand holds a globe surmounted by a Victory, which extends a wreath to his head, his left hand supporting a shield. The legend is DN I VSTI NVS PP A, *D(ominus) N(oster), Iustinus, P(er) p(etrus) A(ugustus)*, 'Our lord, Justinus, forever Augustus.'



FIG. 34. COIN OF JUSTINUS II OF THE SAME TYPE AS THAT ON THE FREER MEDALLION, NO. 6.

The reverse represents Constantinople seated on a throne, facing, but looking toward the right. She wears a helmet, tunic, and mantle. The right leg is uncovered. On the right shoulder is the aegis; the left hand holds a globe surmounted by a cross, the right holds a spear. The legend is VICTORI A AVGGG, *Victoria Augustorum Trium*. In the field, at the left, is a star; in exergue, CONOB, the letters partially covered by solder.¹ The type is shown in Fig. 34.

The frame is like that of no. 5, but the inscription is different: +ΤΟΥΔΙΦΥΛΑΞΑΙ CΕΕΝΤΑCΑΙCΤΑΙCΟΔΟΙCCOY (τοῦ δι[α]φυλάξαι σε ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου), 'to keep thee in all thy ways'; this is the latter half of verse 11 of the Ninety-first Psalm, the first half of which, as we have seen, is quoted on the companion medallion, no. 5.

The three medallions (nos. 5, 6, and 7) were probably believed to have a prophylactic power, indicated by the word διαφυλάξαι; hence the selection of the verse. This word occurs on other medallions of the same class.²

A description of the rings soldered to the edges is presented elsewhere (p. 139). An enlargement of both obverse and reverse is seen in Plate XXI.

¹ Cf. Wroth, I, pp. 75, 76, nos. 1–16, Pl. XI, 1, 2.

² Sorlin-Dorigny, *Revue des Études grecques*, IV (1891), pp. 287–296.

7. SMALL GOLD MEDALLION WITH PENDANTS. FREER COLLECTION. PLATE XXII

This medallion (0.04 m. in diameter) likewise consists of a *solidus* of Justinian I, set in a gold frame similar to those of nos. 5 and 6. The weight is 27.2 grammes.

The type of the coin seems identical with that of no. 5 (Fig. 33), but the reverse legend is partly blurred by solder. The letters of the obverse were apparently struck twice, but the misplacing of the die affected only the beginning of the legend.

The inscription on the frame is: +ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛΟΜΕΘΕΡΜΕ-
ΝΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΝΟΘΕΜΕΘΗΜΩ, a quotation, somewhat abbreviated,



FIG. 35. DETAIL SKETCH OF THE DECORATIVE FRAME OF THE FREER MEDALLION, NO. 7. SOMEWHAT ENLARGED.

from Matth. I, 23, 'Εμμανουήλ ὁ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνεύμενον, μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός, 'Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us.' At the end ὁ θε(ός) is put before μεθ' ἡμῶ(ν). Moreover, while the spacing at the beginning of the inscription is generous, toward the end the letters are cramped and smaller. It is probable, therefore, that the letters of the in-

scription on this medallion, as on the other two (nos. 5 and 6), were chiselled by free hand one by one, and so were not made from a single die. The same inscription appears also on the well-known ampullae from Monza.¹

Soldered to the lower edge of the medallion frame are three rings, each having at its base a small three-petal ornament, with pellet centre (Figs. 35 and 37). From these rings hang fine double-looped chains (about

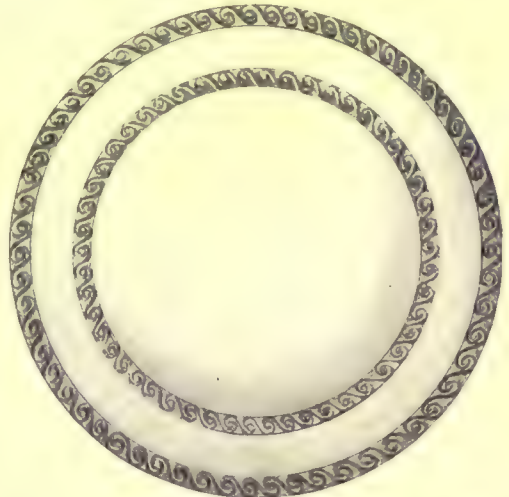


FIG. 36. DETAIL OF SPIRAL DESIGN ON THE FREER MEDALLION, NO. 7. SOMEWHAT ENLARGED.

¹ Diehl, *Manuel d'Art byzantin* (Paris, 1910), p. 292, Fig. 152; Garrucci, *Storia dell'Arte crist.*, VI, Pl. 433, 7, 9; Pl. 434, 1, 7, 8; Pl. 435, 1.



SMALL FRAMED MEDALION WITH PENDANTS.
 (1875 COLLECTION) No. 1, Obverse and Reverse.

PLATE XXIII



ENLARGEMENT (FOUR TIMES) OF THE FREER MEDALLION, NO. 7,
OBVERSE AND REVERSE

PLATE XXIV



THE THREE FREER MEDALLIONS ATTACHED IN THE FOLLOWING ORDER: NOS. 5, 7, 6

0.08 m. long, Fig. 38), terminating in pearls, the terminal pearl of the middle pendant being larger than the other two. Above the pearls are small cylindrical settings on a conical base, with a small, pearl-shaped globule above and below (Fig. 39); the cylindrical bases now contain only traces of paste. The complete length of the outer pendants is 0.11 m., of the middle one, 0.10 m.

The pendants with their settings are quite similar to those on the necklace numbered 13. An enlargement of both obverse and reverse of this medallion is seen in Plate XXIII.

The Three Medallions Together

On the reverses of all three medallions (nos. 5, 6, and 7) the reverse patterns of the stamped spirals and inscriptions can be seen, the workmanship being precisely similar. The coins place the date of the three objects as late as the last half of the sixth century. They belonged together originally, and no. 7 formed the central piece.



FIG. 38. DETAIL OF PENDANT CHAIN OF THE FREER MEDALLION NO. 7. ENLARGED

On the sides of each medallion are rings, with a pellet at the base of each, on both obverse and reverse; by means of these rings the medallions were joined together with hinge pins (Fig. 40). The presence of green oxydization, which is very marked, within and about the rings, suggest that the hinge pins may have been not gold, but bronze; in all the other objects in this collection, however, gold hinge pins were used, and it is difficult to believe that, when the medallions were made, any other material than gold was employed for the pins also. The three medallions were originally arranged as shown in Plate XXIV.

Two rings have been wrenched from the left side of no. 5, but the visible evidence of their former existence, and the three rings on the right side of no. 6, make it certain that originally there were



FIG. 37. SIDE VIEW OF PENDANT RING AND ADJOINING ORNAMENTATION ON THE RIM OF THE FREER MEDALLION, NO. 7. ENLARGED.



FIG. 39. SIDE VIEW OF CYLINDRICAL SETTING ON A PENDANT OF THE FREER MEDALLION, NO. 7. ENLARGED.

in the complete chain at least two more medallions; possibly there were several more.

In the Morgan loan collection at the Metropolitan Museum in New York are two parts of what was perhaps originally a single girdle (Plate XXV). It consists of four large gold medallions (cast, not struck) of Mauricius Tiberius (582-602 A.D.) and twelve *solidi* of the same emperor, of Theodosius II (408-450), and of Justinus and Justinian (527). Each is enclosed by a frame edged with beads and provided with hinges, like those of the earrings numbered 18-21, on both sides; the girdle, therefore, as it exists, is not complete.



FIG. 40. DETAIL SKETCH OF THE MEDALLIONS, NOS. 7 AND 6. SHOWING MODE OF ATTACHMENT. SOMEWHAT ENLARGED.

The pins by which nos. 7 and 5 and 7 and 6 were joined together have been lost.

In style and composition this girdle reminds one strongly of certain pieces of the treasure, and particularly of the medallions numbered 5, 6, 7, although it is inferior to them artistically. The girdle was found with other objects (among them the objects shown in Plate XXXIV and Fig. 52) in the vicinity of Kyrenia, in Cyprus, in 1902.¹

8. GOLD NECKLACE WITH TWO MEDALLION PENDANTS. MORGAN COLLECTION. PLATES XXVI, XXVII

This necklace (weight 100 grammes, length 0.75 m.) has a double chain made of fine double-loop links. The chain was folded in two strands; the complete length of it therefore was a metre and a half (4.92 feet). At present it has no clasps, and it may never have had any; it might have been designed to be put on over the head. One of the two pendants is larger than the other, but each pendant is made by enclosing in a gold frame a gold *aureus*² of Alexander Severus (222-235 A.D.).³

The larger pendant (diameter 0.055 m.) is deeply bevelled on the front side and is surrounded by delicate scroll open-work; in

¹ Sambon, *Le Musée: Revue d'Art mensuelle*, vol. III (1906), pp. 121-129, Pl. XXI; Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Fig. 317.

² See p. 112, footnote 1.

³ In the British Museum is a chain with pendant also containing an *aureus* of Alexander Severus; Marshall, *Catalogue of Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the British Museum*, no. 2727; similar pendants of about the same date are nos. 2937-2940. Such pendants were not uncommon, and are found in many collections.

PLATE XXV



GIRDLE FOUND IN 1902 IN THE VICINITY OF KYRENIA IN CYPRUS, NOW ON LOAN IN THE MORGAN COLLECTION AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK

PLATE XXVI

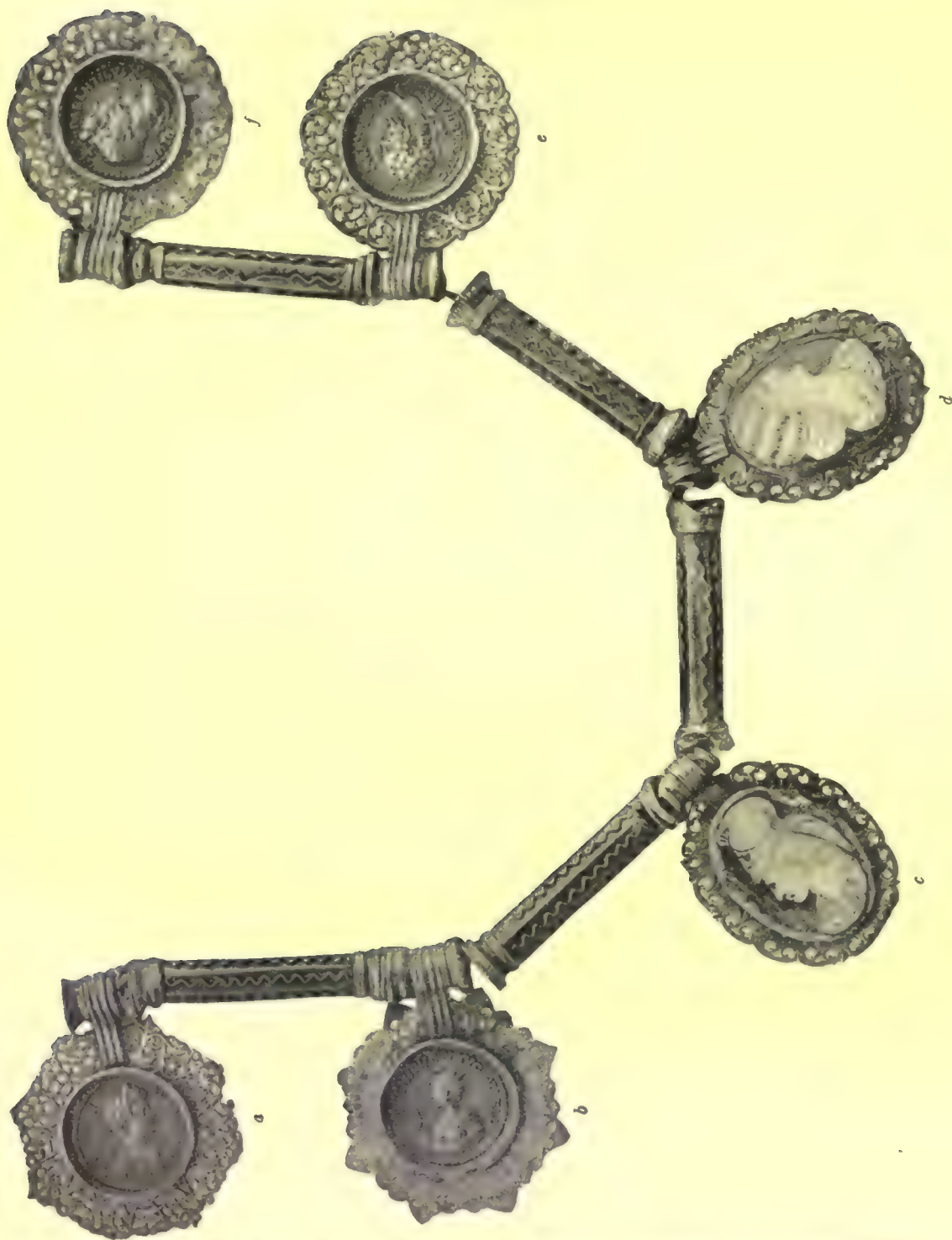


NECKLACE WITH MEDALLION PENDANTS
MORGAN COLLECTION. NO. 8. OVERSE.



NECKLACE WITH MEDALLION PENDANTS
MORGAN COLLECTION. No. 8, REVERSE

PLATE XXVIII



NECKLACE FOUND AT NAIX IN 1809, NOW IN THE CABINET DES MÉDAILLES, PARIS

this is shown a pattern of two squares intersecting symmetrically, with an ivy leaf at the alternate angles.

On the obverse of the *aureus* appears the bust of the emperor, Alexander Severus, bearded, wearing the laurel crown and mantle; the legend is, IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND AVG, *Imp(erator) C(aesar) M(arcus) Aur(elius) Sev(erus) Alexand(er) Aug(ustus)*, 'The emperor, Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Augustus.'

On the reverse Mars is represented, naked, with mantle floating; he is walking toward the right and carrying a spear and trophy. The legend is, P M TR P V COS II P P, *P(ontifex) M(aximus), Tr(ibunicia) P(otestate) V, Co(n)s(ul) II, P(ater) P(atriae)*, 'Pontifex Maximus, holding the tribunician power for the fifth time, Consul for the second time, father of his country.' The date of the coin therefore is 226 A.D.¹ The reverse appears on the front side of the pendant.

The smaller pendant (diameter 0.035 m.) is also bevelled on the front side, and has a fine open-work frame, the pointed design of which is characteristic of the period. On the obverse of the *aureus* is the bust of the emperor; he has a boyish face, and wears the laurel crown, with mantle and cuirass. The legend is, IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND AVG, as on the companion piece. On the reverse is Jupiter, naked, standing; he faces toward the left, his mantle floating behind him, and holds a thunderbolt and sceptre. The legend is, IOVI CONSERVATORI,² 'To Jupiter, Preserver.' In distinction from the other medallion, the obverse of the coin is represented on the front side of the pendant.

Each pendant is attached to the chain by a ribbed loop. The chain is provided with two six-sided hollow tubes, with ribbed ends, which slide over it, and had as their purpose to keep the pendants in position. One of these is between the two pendants. It is likely that a third pendant is lost, and that the other slide was between the lost pendant and the larger one; perhaps even more than one pendant is missing, for of the two slides one is longer (0.035 m. long) than the other (0.03 m.) and has one more rib at its ends. The use of long slides to separate pendants is well known, as in the necklace from Naix (Plate XXVIII).³

¹ See Cohen, IV, p. 429, no. 280.

² Cf. Cohen, IV, p. 409, no. 70.

³ Also the necklace published by Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Fig. 317, and J. L. Myres, in the *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, IV (1898), pp. 109-112, Fig. 1.

This necklace, also of the third century A.D., is similar to the Morgan necklace in composition. It was found at Naix, in France, west of Toul, in 1809, and is now preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. It has six pendants, separated by slides; two of them are cameos, representing Minerva (*c*) and Julia Domna (*d*), and four are *aurei* of Hadrian (*f*), Septimius Severus (*e*), Caracalla (*b*), and Geta (*a*).¹

9. GOLD NECKLACE WITH AN EMERALD PENDANT. MORGAN COLLECTION. PLATE XXIX

The necklace (about 0.37 m. in length) has a heavy, closely plaited chain (0.008 m. thick) made of very fine links. The chain terminates in heavy ribbed necks bearing rams' heads, which hold a hook and ring for fastening the necklace.

The pendant is an eight-sided, unpolished emerald plasma. It is set on a pin which passes through a bore drilled lengthwise the stone, and is attached to the chain by a ribbed loop having a spiral wire on each side. This necklace is said to have come from Alexandria.

10. GOLD NECKLACE WITH PEARL AND SAPPHIRE PENDANTS. MORGAN COLLECTION. PLATE XXX

This necklace (0.45 m. long) is an example of delicate workmanship and is most pleasing. The chain, made of single links, is ornamented with small, plain bosses, there being a cluster of three over each pendant; in the case of the latter a pellet was placed on the outer edge of each boss, and in the intervening angle.

Each of the six links, from the ends of the chain to the point where the pendants begin, consists of one boss and two loops, the latter being set at right angles to each other. The bosses are backed with gold foil. At each end of the chain is a round open-work disk edged with small beads and containing four small bow-spirals similar in shape to those on the Freer medallion (no. 2) and the Morgan pectoral (no. 1). The necklace was fastened with a hook and ring.

The pendants are fifteen in number. They consist of alternating cruciform groups of four bead-shaped, Singhalese sapphires,

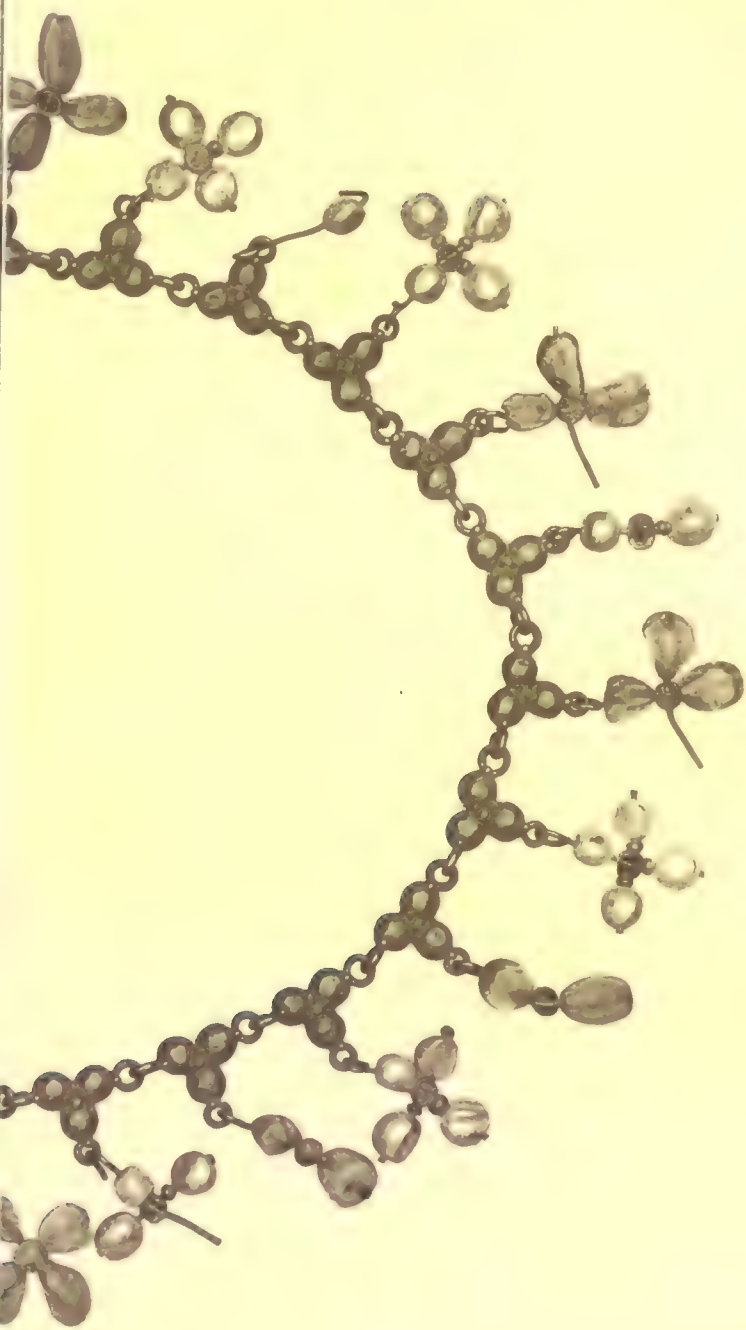
¹ Babelon, *Guide illustré au Cabinet des Médailles et des Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1900), p. 168, Fig. 68, *Catalogue des Camées*, Fig. 367.



NECKLACE WITH EMERALD PENDANT
MORGAN COLLECTION. No. 9

PLATE XXX





NECKLACE WITH PEARL AND SAPPHIRE PENDANTS
MORGAN COLLECTION. No. 10

PLATE XXXI





NECKLACE WITH PENDANT AND JEWELS
BERNS COLLECTION. No. 11

cut with rounded surfaces, and of four pearls which are nearly round; the pearls are more or less irregular in shape, but are in fairly good preservation. Nine pearls and ten sapphires are missing. The fourth pendant from the right lacks all four sapphires; a small pearl has been set on one pin, undoubtedly since the discovery of the necklace. In the centre of each group was a small cylindrical setting; only slight traces of the sets (glass-paste?) are left.

The sapphires are a pale blue, and on close examination show the purple color of the stones from Ceylon.¹ Both the sapphires and pearls are set upon a pin passing through a bore drilled through their centre. Between the pearls and the centre setting is a gold bead.

II. GOLD NECKLACE WITH CIRCULAR OPEN-WORK PENDANT.
BURNS COLLECTION. PLATE XXXI

The chain (about 0.94 m. long) is made of eight sections of plaited chain alternating with ten sections of wire; the sections of wire are strung with small round pearls, small bead-edged bosses of gold arranged in pairs, and hexagonal emeralds, in the following order: pearl, bosses, emerald, bosses, pearl. The sections of chain end in truncated cones, surrounded by a ring of wire and finished with a double boss of gold. Near the middle of the chain are two circular settings (diameter 0.014 m.), edged with beaded wire and joined with a hinge of the usual pattern; the settings are now empty.

The open-work pendant is attached to the chain by means of a massive bar (0.065 m. long), made by skillfully welding together the ends of two pieces; each of these pieces is shaped like an hour-glass, and was made by soldering the small ends of two truncated cones; the place of soldering is concealed by a ribbed ring.² The bar was fastened to the chain by loops at its ends.

The circular pendant (diameter 0.072 m.) is in open-work and has a narrow rim, edged with beaded wire, within which are placed four large and five small rings of gold wire. The large rings

¹ These stones and the similar ones on the Morgan bracelets (nos. 28, 29) have been examined by Dr. George Frederick Kunz, who pronounces them sapphires. Stones that appear to be quite similar and are used in the decoration of certain of the von Gans objects (nos. 12, 13, 14, 34) Zahn prefers to call aquamarines.

² A similar bar is shown by Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Fig. 327.

(diameter 0.027 m.) enclose smaller rings which are held in place by single spirals and bow-spirals of fine wire; they contain sets of hexagonal emeralds, in the upper and lower rings, and of sapphires, in the two side rings. In the space enclosed by the large rings, and at the intersection of their circumferences, are the five small rings containing sets of round pearls. The gems are threaded on wires placed in the line of the radii of the pendant, excepting the central pearl, which is threaded on a vertical wire. The whole was made firm by soldering round circular settings, now empty, in the open spaces. The pendant is fastened to the bar with a hinge, which consists of a pin passing through three small band-rings, two soldered to the pendant, and one to the bar. On the obverse side these rings are decorated with a three-petal ornament having a pellet centre.

With the exception of the circular sets and half of a pearl on one section of wire in the chain, no gem in the entire necklace is missing; the lower emerald in the pendant seems to have been partially broken.

12. GOLD NECKLACE SET WITH GEMS. VON GANS COLLECTION.
PLATE XXXII

The necklace (0.79 m. long) consists of twenty-eight ornamental members: fourteen small medallions, in open-work; thirteen members with settings, seven oval in shape, and six square; and a cameo setting at the middle of the chain.

The open-work members consist each of a rosette of six leaf-petals surrounded by a flat rim, all cut from one piece of gold plate; to this flat rim, on both the upper and the lower sides, is soldered a bevelled rim edged on the inside with a small bead. The details of the leaves are indicated with the chisel; in the centre of the rosette on the upper side, and also on the lower side, is ordinarily a pellet; some pellets are missing.

The oval settings, the lower half of which is circular in shape, are backed with foil with the exception of the centre in which is a cylindrical bore. The setting of the stone in the oval frame was strengthened with four claws. In the fifth setting on the left (counting from the cameo at the middle) is an amethyst. In the fifth setting on the right is an emerald, which does not seem to fit, and is apparently a modern restoration. In the other settings



NECKLACE WITH JEWELS
VON GANS COLLECTION



OPEN-WORK MEDALLIONS

No. 12

PLATE XXXIII



1 NECKLACE WITH PENDANTS VON GANS COLLECTION. No. 13
2 CROSS WITH JEWELS VON GANS COLLECTION. No. 35

PLATE XXXIV



NECKLACE FOUND NEAR KYRENIA, CYPRUS
MORGAN COLLECTION.

are partly aquamarines (sapphires?)¹ and partly a violet-reddish stone similar to selenite. The two settings containing the amethyst and the emerald have a pellet at the bases of the links and in other ways are slightly different from the others. Around each set eight small pearls, four on a side, are strung on fine wires passing through plain gold loops, thus giving the impression of gold beads between pearls; the ends of the wires are wound around the links.

The square settings also are backed with foil, and contain emeralds. Each set is enclosed in a slightly concave rim, and is surrounded with eight small pearls, two on each of the four sides, mounted in the manner above described. The size of the sets slightly varies.

The cameo is slightly smaller than its setting, and may perhaps have been put in its present place in modern times; the background is reddish brown. The setting in which the cameo is placed differs in certain details of workmanship from all the others excepting the two oval settings and one square setting (fourth on the right from the cameo), to which it seems to correspond; for example, the links are made of a thinner wire. Possibly the necklace was repaired in antiquity, the cameo and the oval settings being later additions.

The links connecting the settings are alternately placed at right angles; with the exception of the two already mentioned, and one square setting (fourth on the right from the cameo), they have a cubical base. Apparently the necklace did not have the usual clasp or hook and ring, but was complete in itself, consisting of an unbroken chain of settings.

13. GOLD NECKLACE WITH PENDANTS. VON GANS COLLECTION.
PLATE XXXIII, 1

This necklace (0.44 m. long) has nineteen links consisting of wires with loops at either end, the loops being placed at right angles with each other. Ten of the wires are strung with plasma and nine with a round pearl, each between small gold pearls. There were fifteen pendants fastened to a loop soldered to one of the loops of the wire link. Two pendants and parts of two others are missing. On the wire of the pendant there is at the top a


¹ See p. 143, footnote 1.

setting between two gold pearls. The settings are cylindrical, mounted on conical bases (cf. Fig. 39); in some an emerald is still preserved, and in one are remains of iridescent glass. Most of the settings are empty, or contain traces of the white filling. Below is a small round pearl, and finally a pear-shaped aquamarine (sapphire?)¹ held by bending the wire in a small coil. In design and composition these pendants resemble closely those on the Freer medallion (no. 7). At each end of the necklace is a disk with a beaded border, holding the hook and ring for fastening; the former moves on a hinge.

A similar necklace, strung with plasma and pearls, though without pendants (Plate XXXIV), was found near Kyrenia in Cyprus in 1902, and is now in the Morgan loan collection of the Metropolitan Museum, New York;² it is heavier than our necklace.

14. LUNATE, OPEN-WORK GOLD NECKLACE, ORNAMENTED WITH JEWELS. VON GANS COLLECTION. PLATES XXXV, XXXVII, XXXVIII

The necklace (weight, 335 grammes; length, about 0.38 m. on the inner edge, and 0.58 m. on the outer) was made of eleven plaques in open-work, skillfully hinged together, and profusely ornamented with pearls and other precious stones. Ten plaques are chiselled with consecutive letters (beginning at the left), on the piece of gold foil that was used to back the central setting of each plaque. These letters were chiselled on the side next the plaque, so that now they are visible in reverse. They obviously served the purpose of indicating the exact order of the plaques, which with the exception of nos. 1 and 11 are alike in size. The letters, λ β Γ Δ ϵ ς ζ η θ ι (here printed in obverse) are arranged in their numerical order, λ being chiselled on the plaque at the left end. The plaque at the right end, no. 11, is not chiselled with any letter, there being no doubt concerning its place in the necklace. The correct position of the plaques is indicated in Fig. 41.

Plaques 2-10 (0.039 m. in width, 0.031 m. long on the shorter edge, 0.047 m. on the longer edge) are of a sectoral shape, , thus forming the circle of the collar. The plaques at the end are beak-shaped. To these are soldered small band-rings to provide

¹ See p. 143, footnote 1.

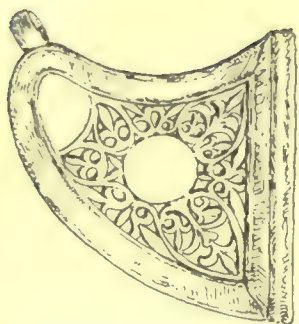
² See Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Fig. 317, pp. 541, 574.



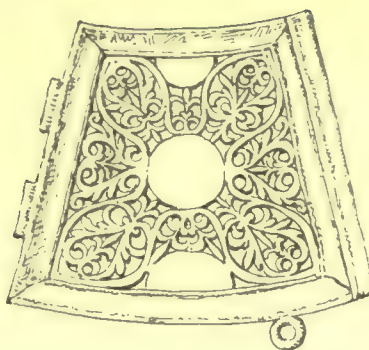
NECKLACE WITH
VOX GANS COI



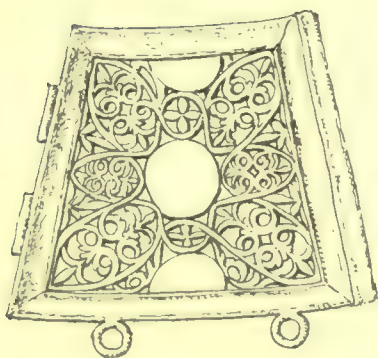
PLATE XXXVI



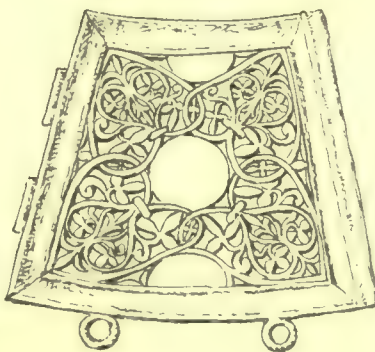
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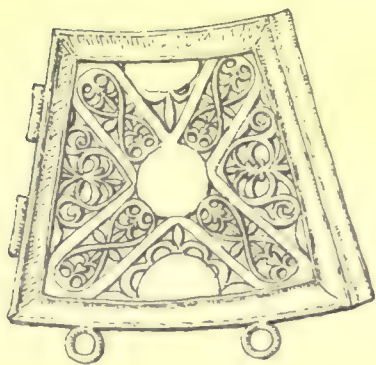
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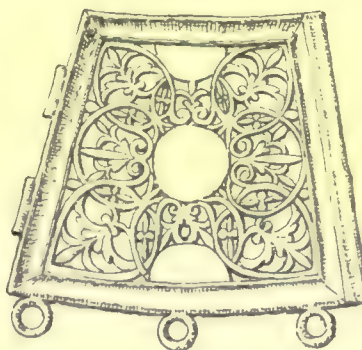
C



D



E



F

DETAIL SKETCHES OF THE SIX DIFFERENT DESIGNS EMPLOYED ON THE
VON GANS NECKLACE, NO. 14

the fastening; on the lower side of each ring at the point of soldering is a small pellet.

The plaques were fastened to each other by means of thin hinges consisting of two long and slender joints of gold-leaf on one piece, and three on the adjoining piece, a thin bronze wire passing through the joints; the hinges were concealed in part by gold strips soldered above them, and in part by the settings.

The designs in open work (Plate XXXVI) exhibit an adaptation of the lotus and palmette entwined in various geometric designs, bow-spirals, and ovals; they recall the ornamentation of the Berlin medallion (no. 4) and of the inner face of the bracelets (28, 29; Fig. 55). Details of outline

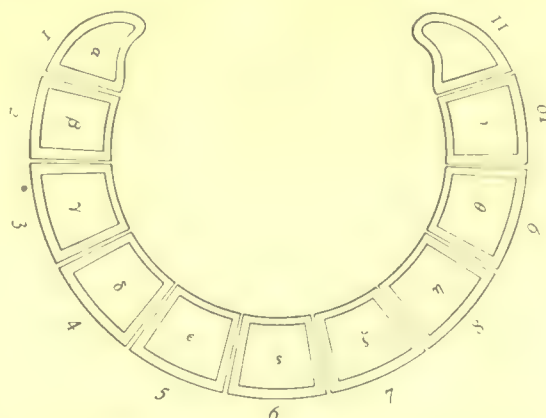


FIG. 41. SKETCH SHOWING THE CORRECT POSITION OF THE PLAQUES OF THE VON GANS NECKLACE.

The Greek letters appear on the reverse of the plaques, thus indicating their order.

are chiselled. Six distinct patterns occur, arranged symmetrically. Thus the patterns of plaques numbered 2 and 10, 3 and 9, 4 and 8, 5 and 7, are identical; that of no. 6 occurs but once, and those of nos. 1 and 11 are alike but reversed.¹ Each plaque has a slightly bevelled rim with a raised line running around the inside.

The necklace was elaborately decorated with pearls, emeralds, and sapphires (aquamarines?).² On the plaques there are settings for sixty-one precious stones, and each of the seventeen pendants had three; originally, therefore, one hundred and twelve jewels were used in the ornamentation of this necklace. Plaques 1 and 11 had each an exceptionally large round pearl at the point, and a cone-shaped setting at the centre. No. 1 had also three sets at the side, a pearl in the centre and a sapphire at each end. The other plaques (2-10) have settings that are alike, six on each. In the centre is a square box-setting, with a concave rim, shaped like

¹ Zahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 105, points out parallels with leaf motives observed on other objects.

² See p. 143, footnote 1.

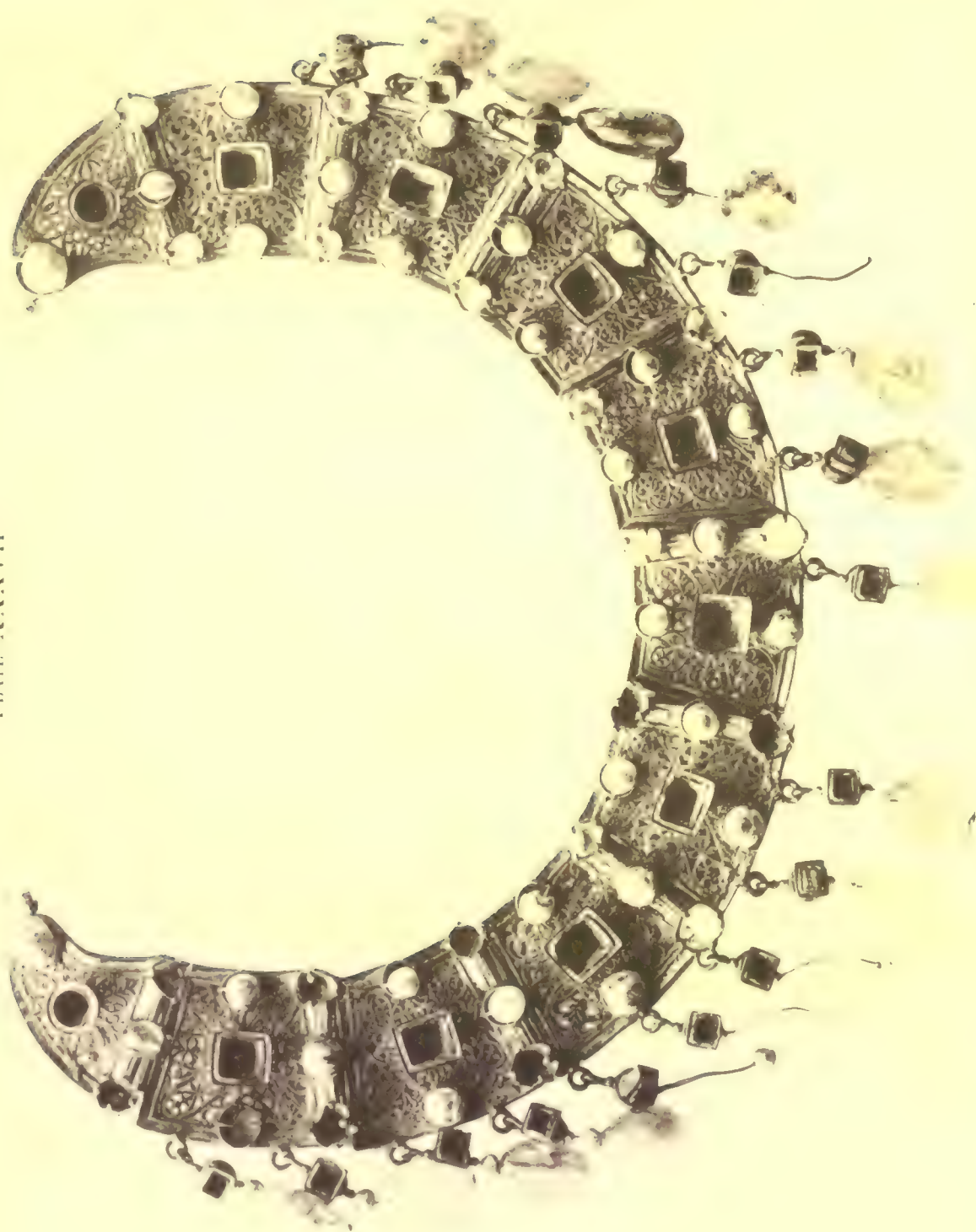
a truncated pyramid inverted, and on either side at the edge of the plaque are placed two pearls; along one side, over the hinge, a pearl is set between two sapphires. The pearls are set, and revolve, on wires within a band-ring; the sapphires have a cone-shaped setting, within which they are held with four claws. The pearls are round; the sapphires are pale in color.

The plaques numbered 2 and 10 have each one pendant; nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 9 have two pendants each, and no. 6 has three pendants, thus making a total of seventeen pendants. The pendants are from 0.04 m. to 0.045 m. in length. Each terminates in a large sapphire (averaging about 0.023 m. in length). Above was a small round pearl and a small box-setting soldered to a cylindrical base, similar in shape to those at the centre of the plaques; two of these settings (plaques 4 and 7) still contain emeralds. The pendants are fastened to a loop on the edge of the plaques; above this loop a pellet was soldered, and there is a small gold bead above and below the box-setting of the pendant. The sets are all backed with gold foil, having in the centre in open work a cross-shaped design formed by four small leaves.

Several of the jewels have disappeared. The centre sets of all the plaques are lost and, as previously mentioned, two emeralds only are left in the box-settings of the pendants. From plaque 1 also two sapphires are missing; from nos. 2, 3, 4, and 10 a pearl from a pendant; from no. 5, one pearl and two sapphires from the plaque; from no. 6, one pearl and all three sapphires from the pendants; from no. 7, two sapphires from the plaque; from no. 8, two sapphires from the plaque; from no. 9, two pearls and a sapphire from a pendant. But notwithstanding these deductions, thirty-nine of the original forty-seven pearls are still in place (twenty-nine on the body of the necklace and ten smaller ones on the pendants), twenty-five of the original thirty-seven sapphires (twelve small ones on the body of the necklace and thirteen large ones on the pendants) and two emerald sets in the pendants. In other words, sixty-six jewels, of the original one hundred and twelve, remain undisturbed.

Plate XXXVII reproduces a photograph of the necklace made soon after its discovery.¹ At that time the plaques were not ar-

¹ The necklace was reproduced in illustration by O. von Falke, *Der Mainzer Goldschmück der Kaiserin Gisela, Aufträge des deutschen Vereines für Kunstwissenschaft* (Berlin, 1913), Abb. 2.





ranged in their correct order but as follows (counting from the left), 1, 5, 7, 6, 8, 2, 4, 9, 3, 10, 11. Plate XXXVIII shows the present appearance of the necklace, the places of the empty sets having been filled with modern jewels. Plate XXXVI, on the other hand, exhibits the necklace with the plaques in their original positions, the modern stones having been removed with the exception of four sapphire pendants (the three on plaque 6 and the one at the left on plaque 9).

Zahn (*op. cit.*, p. 108) places this necklace in the fifth or beginning of the sixth century. In the mosaic of the sixth century at Ravenna the empress Theodora (Plate III) wears a wide necklace having pear-shaped pendants.

15. BREAST CHAIN OF GOLD MEDALLIONS. BURNS COLLECTION.
PLATES XXXIX, XL

Two large open-work medallions (0.077 m. in diameter) are connected by four chains, each having twenty-three small medallions (0.025 m. in diameter) also in open-work. The large medallions, enclosed within rings of wire forming the circumference, have identical designs pierced from a single flat plaque of gold. Within a narrow rim are seven circles (each 0.023 m. in diameter), six grouped around one in the centre. In these circles are two distinct designs (Fig. 42):

- (1) Within a scalloped edge radiate alternately ivy leaves and buds (perhaps a variation of the lotus bud);
- (2) Within each of four round compartments is a palmette pattern, the palmettes being connected by stems which interlace with the surrounding border; in the spaces between the intersections of the compartments is a leaf.

The spaces between the circumferences of the seven circles are filled with scrolls and buds. Fine details are indicated by chiselling. Four loops are soldered to the circumferences of the large

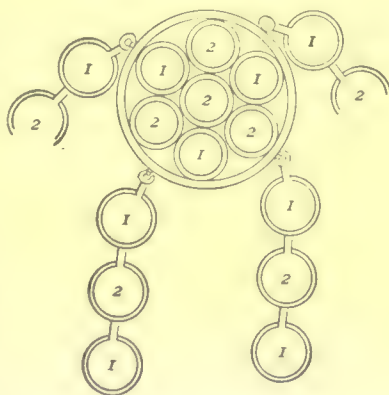


FIG. 42. SKETCH SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE TWO DESIGNS IN THE MEDALLIONS OF THE BURNS BREAST CHAIN, NO. 15.

medallions at equal intervals; to these the four chains of the small medallions are attached by means of double band links.

The small medallions, which are joined together in the same manner as the large ones, are likewise made each from one piece, soldered within a ring of wire. Their designs are identical with the two types described above, but are on a slightly larger scale.

The two designs alternate, and since the number of medallions in each chain is uneven, they begin and end with the same design. Details of the arrangement of the two types are shown in Plate XL.



FIG. 43. TERRACOTTA OF THE ROMAN PERIOD, FROM EGYPT.

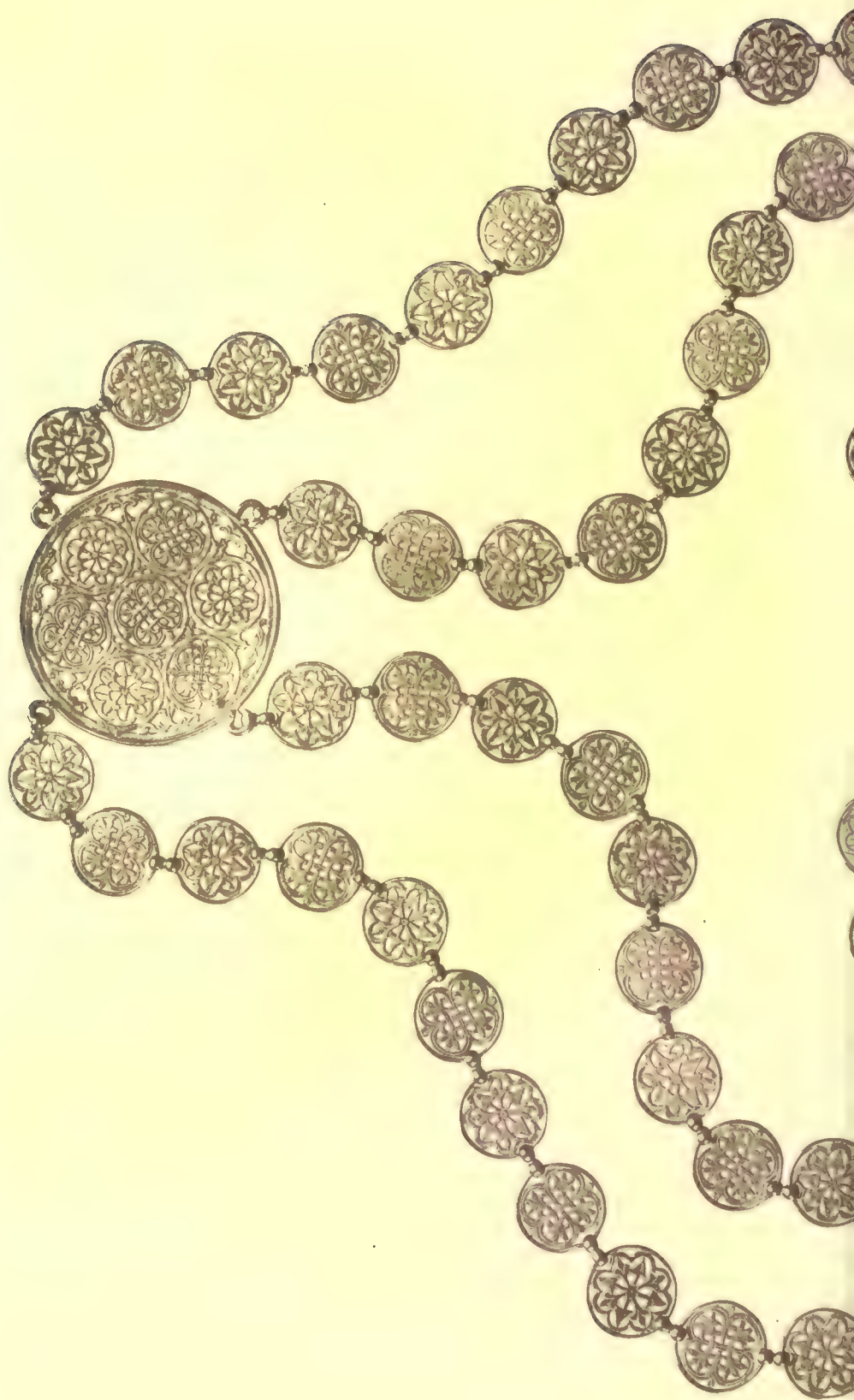
Showing the manner in which the Burns breast chain was perhaps worn.

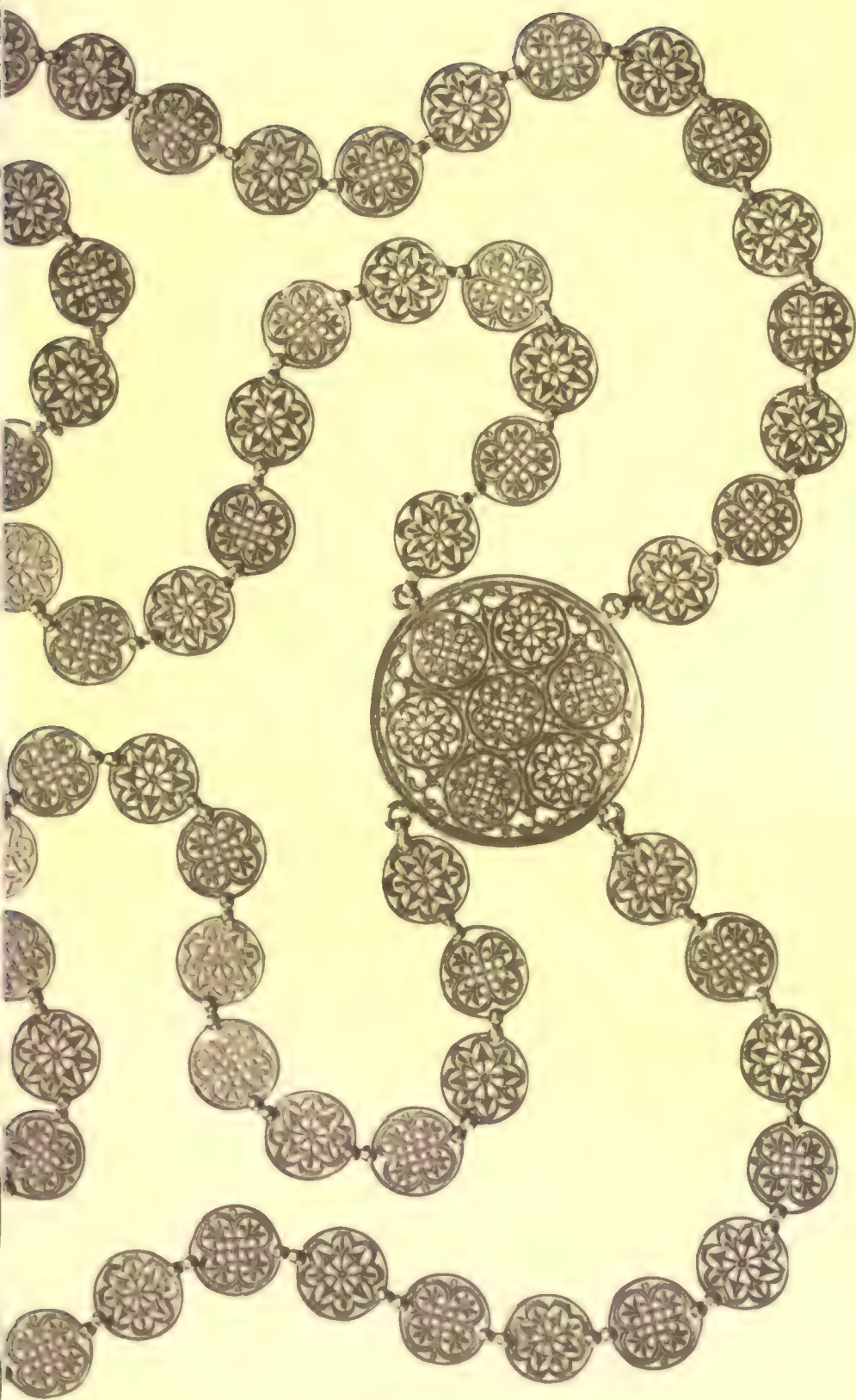
On two consecutive chains a small gold hook is soldered to the link connecting the twelfth and thirteenth medallion, that is, nearly at the middle of the chain; the twelfth medallion is at the middle. The hooks, furthermore, face in opposite directions. This fact, reinforced by the evidence of a small terracotta of the Roman period (Fig. 43) found in Egypt and now in the Museo Archeologico at Florence, may afford a clue to the manner in which the

ornament was worn on the person.¹ They suggest that one of the large medallions was worn on the breast, the other at the back; two of the chains then passed over the shoulders and were held in place by the hooks, and the other two chains passed under the arms.²

¹ A similar terracotta from Egypt is published by Weber, *Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten* (Berlin, 1914), no. 377.

² Says Pliny, speaking of feminine decoration (*N. H.* 33, 40), *discurrant catenae circa latera*, 'chains traverse their sides in different directions.' Compare Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, article "catena," Figs. 1246, 1248.

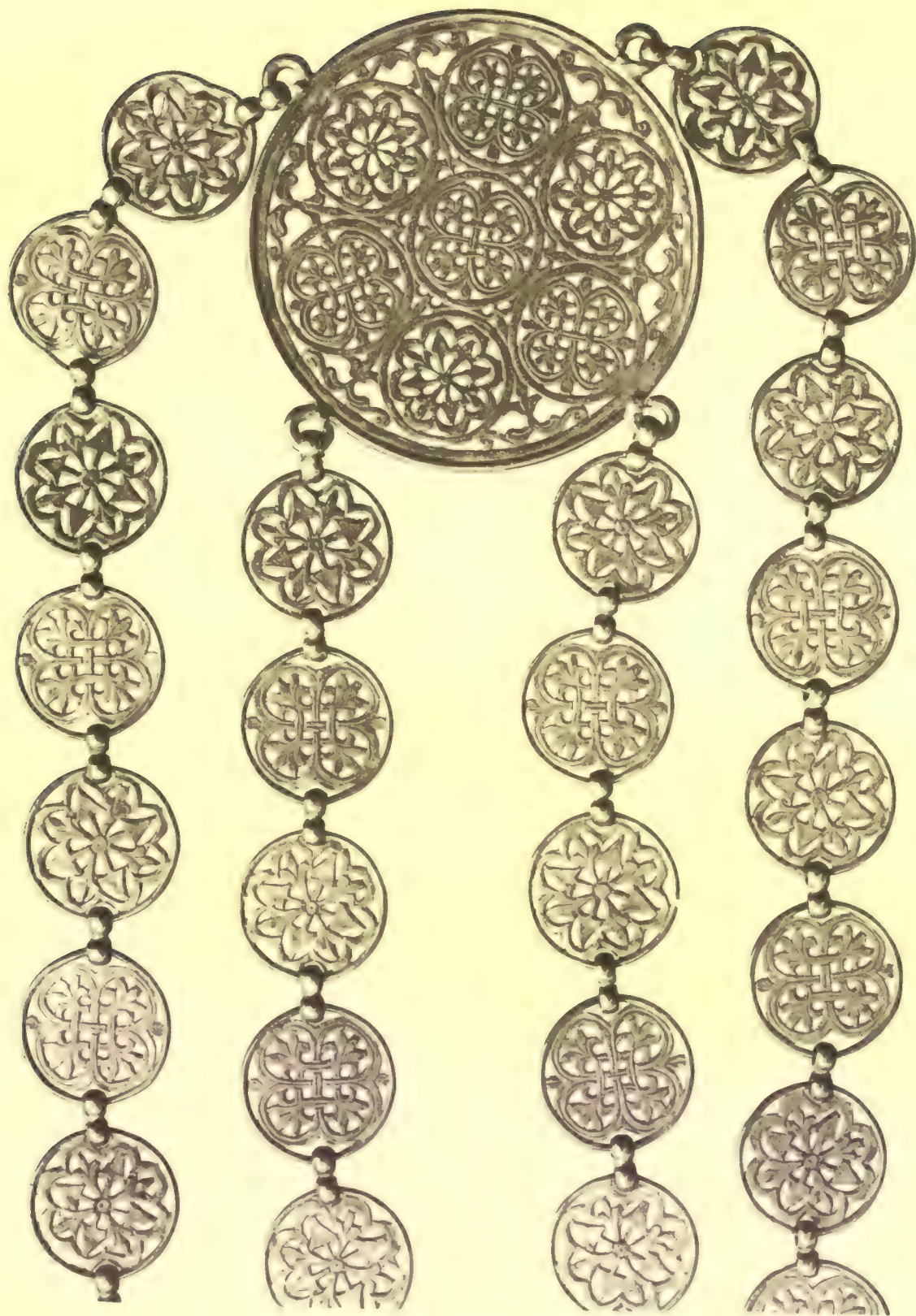




BRAID CHAIN WITH MEDALLIONS

BURNS COLLECTION, No. 15

REDUCED IN SIZE



BREAST CHAIN, DETAIL OF DESIGNS

PLATE XLJ



EARRINGS WITH PEARL PENDANTS
MORGAN COLLECTION. Nos. 16 AND 17

16, 17. PAIR OF PLAIN GOLD EARRINGS WITH PEARL PENDANTS.
MORGAN COLLECTION. PLATE XLI

Each of the earrings has a plain ring (about 0.025 m. in diameter), with an opening for insertion in the ear. The end to be inserted in the ear diminishes slightly in diameter; the other end is provided with a knob.

To this ring are soldered four small loops, from which hang pendants of closely plaited chains, (about 0.043 m. long), terminating in round pearls. On the lower side of each loop, in the angle formed by it and the ring, is a small gold bead. The chains end in small ribbed collars which have a loop at either end for suspension.

The pearls are set on pins, finished with a small coil, to hold the pearls. Above the pearls is a gold bead. All eight pearls are in place; one is partially broken. The total length of each earring is 0.08 m. The Romans gave the name *crotalia* to pearls that were mounted in such a manner that they struck against each other, thus suggesting the sounds of castanets.¹

It is difficult to date these earrings exactly; they may not be later than the third century. In the Museum at Cairo are earrings of the same general style, from the Greco-Roman period;² one of them is shown in Fig. 44.



FIG. 44. EARRING OF THE
GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD IN
THE CAIRO MUSEUM.

18, 19. PAIR OF GOLD EARRINGS WITH JEWELS. BURNS
COLLECTION. PLATE XLII

In these earrings (length, 0.121 m.) the hook diminishes slightly to the end, and its loop is decorated with two globules, one on either side. The lower part of the body (about 0.041 m. wide) is semicircular in shape and encloses the arcs of two smaller

¹ Pliny, *N. H.*, 9, 123.

² Vernier, *Bijoux et Orfèvreries* (Leipzig, 1907, 1909), *Catalogue général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, nos. 52437, 52438, Pl. xxx. For other earrings of the sixth century, found in Cyprus, see Dalton, *op. cit.*, Fig. 327.

circles; above, it ends in two scrolls. Between the ends of the semicircle are three small circular settings; on either side of the scrolls, and between them is also a small circular setting. All these settings probably contained glass paste.



FIG. 45. EARRING NOW IN THE CAIRO MUSEUM.

Between the scrolls and below the circular setting a rounded elongated emerald is set on a pin which passes through a perforation in the stone; immediately below is a gold bead. To the circular setting just mentioned a bead and loop are soldered, and to this the hook of the earring is attached. The surface of the body is chiselled in small lunates and wedges; it is backed with gold foil.

Each of the three pendants has three settings, which are attached to the body and to each other by means of hinges; the hinges are made by passing a wire pin through band rings, the two outer bands being soldered to the same side, and the middle one to the other side. The settings are circular, square, and cone shaped, in alternation. On each earring one setting of glass paste is still preserved.

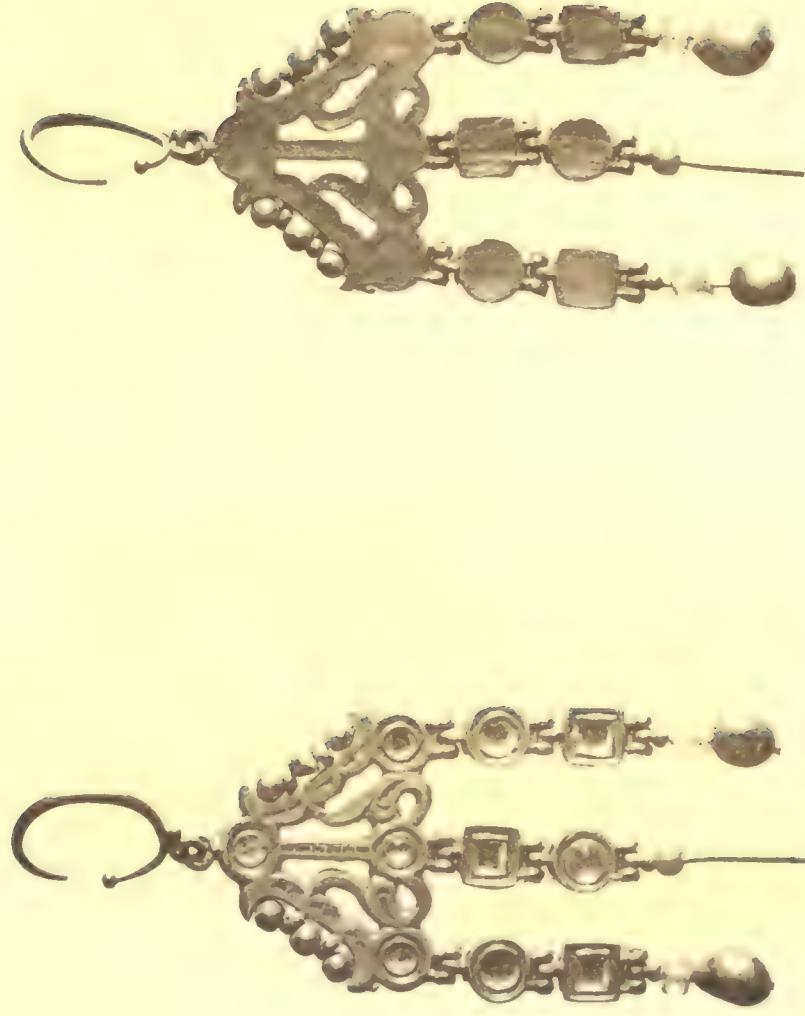
The pendants terminate in a gold bead and a pin. On the pin are strung, in the outside pendants, a cylindrical emerald and a large round pearl; in the middle pendant, a small round pearl and a sapphire. The pin passes through the jewels, and holds them in place by being bent in a small coil below. The length of the middle pendant is 0.057 m.

PLATE XLII



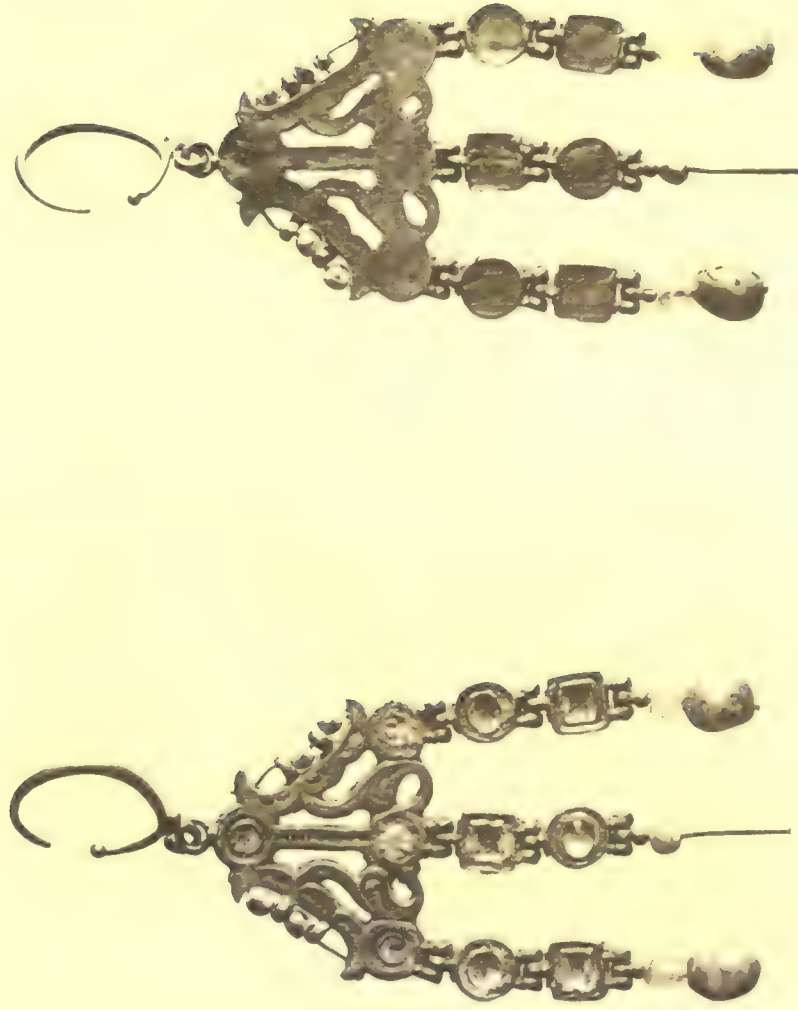
EARRINGS WITH PENDANTS AND JEWELS
BURNS COLLECTION. NOS. 18 AND 19

PLATE XLIII



EARRING WITH PENDANTS AND JEWELS
FREER COLLECTION, No. 20. OBTUSE AND REVERSE

PLATE XLIV



EARRING WITH PENDANTS AND JEWELS.
FREER COLLECTION. No. 21, Obverse and Reverse.

These earrings resemble closely the following, nos. 20 and 21, and are probably as late as the sixth century. Similar earrings are in the Museum at Cairo; one of them is shown in Fig. 45.¹

20, 21. PAIR OF GOLD EARRINGS WITH JEWELS. FREER COLLECTION. PLATES XLIII, XLIV

These earrings are so similar in style and workmanship to those just described (nos. 18, 19) that we are probably safe in ascribing them to the same period, if not to the same atelier. They are about 0.11 m. long. The hook is an open oval ring, the lower end terminating in a pellet (Fig. 46). It may be that the hook was not intended to be inserted in the pierced lobe of the ear, but to be attached as a pendant to the side-pieces of the head-dress.²

The body (0.038 m. wide) is backed with gold foil (see reverses in Plates). It is in open-work, and triangular in form; the lunate recesses on

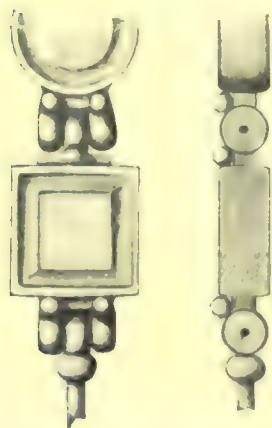


FIG. 47. DETAIL SKETCH AND CROSS SECTION OF A PORTION OF ONE OF THE PENDANTS OF THE FREER EARRINGS, NOS. 20, 21. ENLARGED.

the sloping sides are joined together by a lyre-shaped scroll. At the three corners of the triangle, and in the centre of its base, is a circular setting; one set of glass paste is still preserved on each earring. In each recess along the sloping side three small pearls are strung on wire between band rings; on one of the earrings two pearls are missing. On the surface are shallow oblong and lunate settings, probably for glass paste.

Each of the three pendants has two settings, connected by hinges, a circular and a box setting in alternate order. Their relative size and relation are shown in the sketch and cross-section in Fig. 47. These settings probably all contained glass paste. The outside pendants terminate in cylin-



FIG. 46. DETAIL OF UPPER PART OF FREER EARRINGS, NOS. 20, 21. ORIGINAL SIZE.

¹ Vernier, *op. cit.*, nos. 52510, 52511, Pl. xxxv.

² Dalton, *The Burlington Magazine*, May, 1912, p. 65.

dricul emeralds and pear-shaped pearls. The middle pendant is slightly longer than the others; by comparison with the preceding (nos. 18 and 19) we may assume that it terminated also in a sapphire surmounted by a small round pearl; both pearls are preserved.

The weight of no. 20 is 27.2 grammes; that of no. 21 is 26.3 grammes.

22, 23. PAIR OF GOLD ARMLETS. FREER COLLECTION.
PLATES XLV, XLVI

These two fine armlets (diameter about 0.099 m.) are made of hollow tubes of gold, resembling the neck-rings of the two pectorals (nos. 1 and 3), ending in a ribbed



FIG. 48. CLASP OF ONE OF THE
FREER ARMLETS, NOS. 22, 23.
REDUCED IN SIZE.

cap at the clasp (diameter of the tubes 0.008 m.). The body of the armlets is without ornamentation; the clasp, which consists of a heavy hook and ring (Fig. 48), is concealed

by shell-shaped ornaments flanking a round boss edged with a border of beads. In both armlets the hollow tube of the body opposite the clasps has by some accident been slightly indented.

The weight of no. 22 is 65.6 grammes; that of no. 23 is 65.2 grammes.

24, 25. PAIR OF SPIRAL GOLD BRACELETS. BURNS COLLECTION.
PLATE XLVII

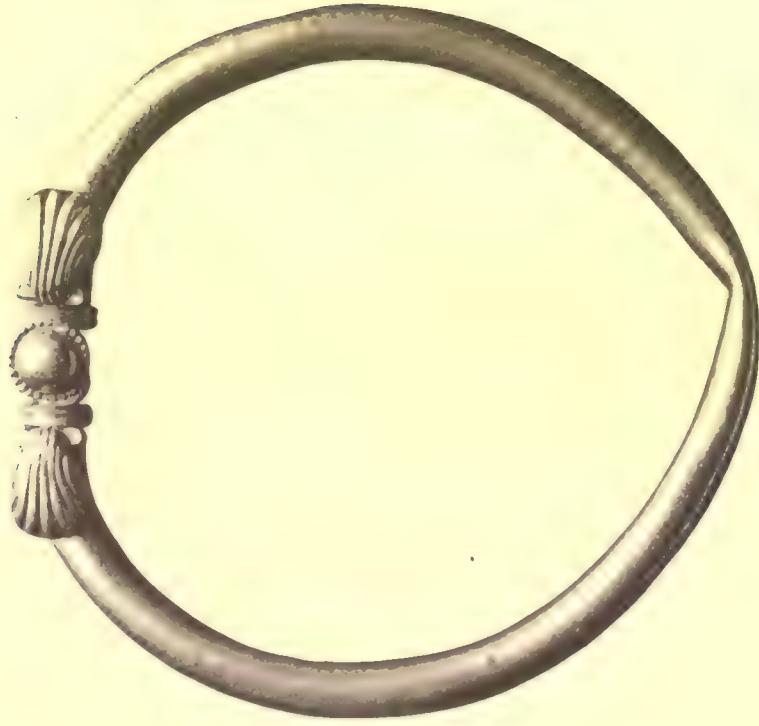
The bracelets (diameter 0.067 m.) are solid, and the spirals, which represent a serpent, make slightly more than two turns in length.

The body of the serpent enlarges in size from the head to the middle, and then diminishes to the tail. The head and neck are carefully worked, and the scales of the neck are indicated for about 0.04 m. by cross-hatched incisions. The eyes are formed by small globules of gold. The tail, which is also chiselled, ends in waves.

The bracelets are perfectly preserved. They may be as early as the first century, but it is difficult to determine the precise date, since the type is common in many periods.¹ It is not certain that this pair of bracelets belongs with the rest of the treasure; possibly it came from Alexandria.

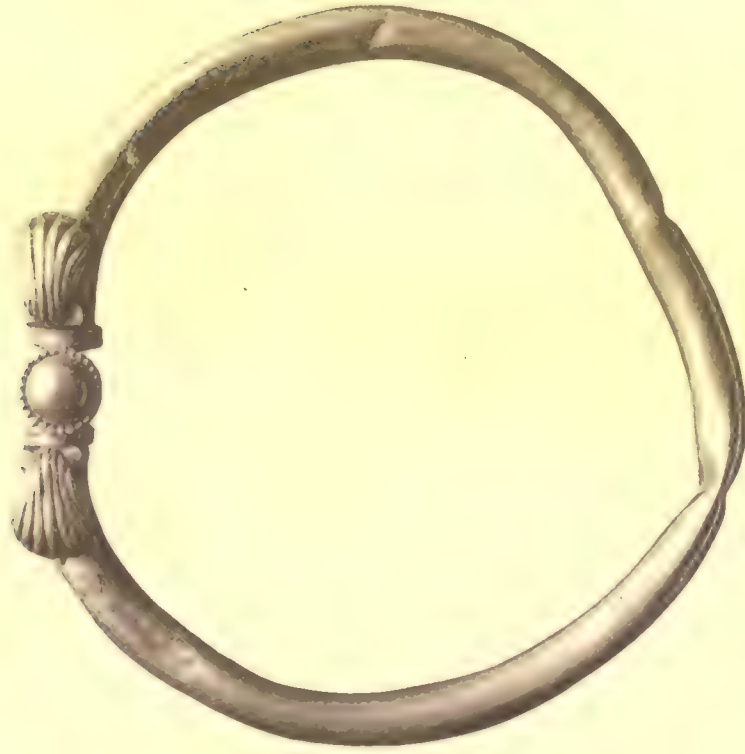
¹ See, for example, Vernier, *op. cit.*, nos. 52114-52124, Pls. XIV, XV.

PLATE XLV



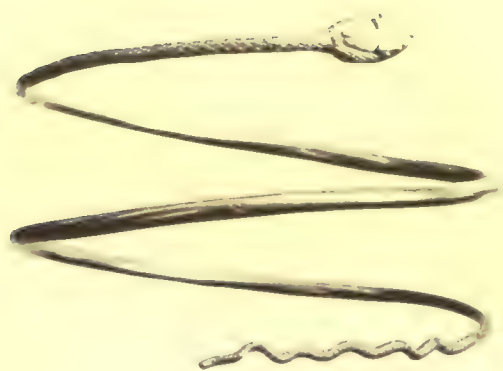
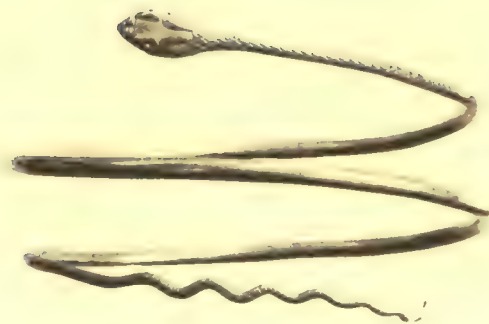
ARMLET OF GOLD WITH CLASP
FREER COLLECTION. No. 22. OBVERSE AND REVERSE

PLATE XLVI



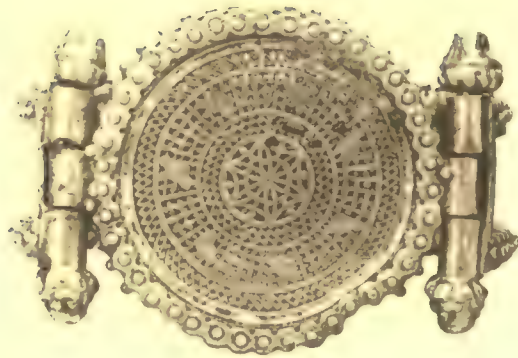
ARMLET OF GOLD WITH CLASP
FREER COLLECTION. No. 23, OVERSE AND REVERSE

PLATE XLVII



SPIRAL BRACELETS OF GOLD
BURNS COLLECTION. NOS. 24 AND 25

PLATE XLVIII



BRACELETS WITH OPEN-WORK
MORGAN COLLECTION. Nos. 26 AND 27

26, 27. PAIR OF GOLD OPEN-WORK BRACELETS. MORGAN COLLECTION. PLATE XLVIII

This pair of heavy bracelets (diameter 0.07 m.) is entirely of gold without any setting of gems; the weight of one is 162.55 grammes, of the other, 164.55 grammes.

Each bracelet consists of a band (0.025 m. wide), bent to form three-quarters of a circle; the space between the ends is filled with a medallion face (diameter 0.047 m., including the rim). The medallion was held in place by means of two elaborate hinges; these consist of pins, which pass through three band rings, two rings being soldered to the body and one to the face of the bracelet; the pins end in rude lions' heads. One of the pins is set permanently, the other is a screw pin removable to admit the wrist. This screw pin (on the right as seen in the Plate) is made in the usual way (p. 121, Fig. 19) and is removed by turning from left to right.

Both the face and the body of the bracelets are edged with a triple row of small disks with pellet centres. In the open-work of both body and face appear delicate line designs and the graceful outlines of doves, a design of great beauty, exhibiting the skill of the goldsmith at its best (Figs. 49 and 50).

An open-work strip (0.013 m. wide), consisting of a single piece, was soldered between the heavy projecting rims of the body. The spaces on this open-work strip between the figures of the doves are occupied by a fret pattern and by minute leaf designs (Fig. 50), some details being indicated by chiselling. Eight doves are represented, four on each side, all facing the medallion.



FIG. 49. DETAIL SKETCH OF THE DESIGN ON THE FACE OF THE MORGAN BRACELET, NO. 26. ORIGINAL SIZE.



FIG. 50. DETAIL SKETCH OF THE DESIGN ON THE BODY OF THE MORGAN BRACELET, NO. 26. SIX-SEVENTHS ORIGINAL SIZE.

Immediately opposite the face is a small ring enclosing a cross design. The band is bordered with fine double spirals closely laid.

Similarly, on the medallion face the open-work plaque, consisting of a single piece, shows straight geometric designs alternating with tiny leaf patterns (Fig. 49). In the centre the geometric design encloses a six-pointed rosette, with pellets between the petals. Around this is a band containing the figures of seven doves, three facing one way, four the other; this band is bordered on both sides with the double spiral pattern described above (Fig. 50).

These bracelets are probably somewhat earlier than the following (nos. 28, 29), but the date is extremely difficult to fix. In



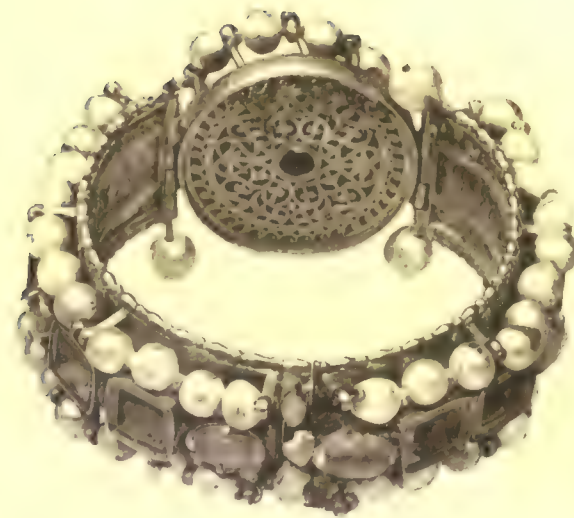
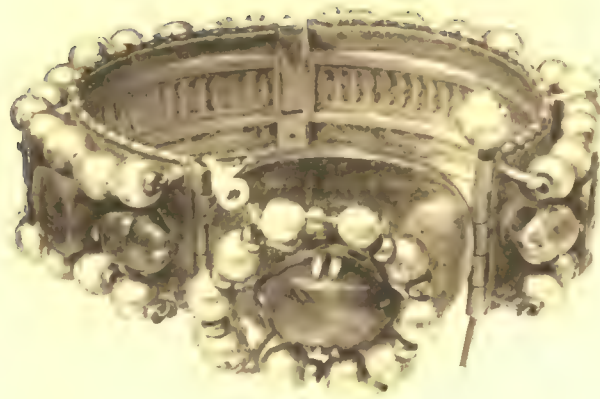
FIG. 51. GOLD BRACELET, PERHAPS OF COPTIC ORIGIN, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, SIXTH CENTURY.

Fig. 51 is reproduced a gold bracelet of the sixth century which has some points of resemblance;¹ on the body are peacocks and geese, bordered by a flowing scroll. On the face is a bust of the Virgin, with uplifted hands. The workmanship is far inferior to that of the Morgan bracelets. This bracelet, now in the British Museum, is said to have been found in Syria, but it was purchased in Cairo and is perhaps Egyptian in origin; it shows Coptic traits.

A resemblance, on the whole nearer, appears in a gold bracelet which formed a part of the Kyrenia treasure already referred to, and is now in the Morgan Loan Collection in the Metropolitan

¹ Dalton, *Guide to the Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities in the British Museum* (London, 1903), p. 109, and *Cat. of Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East* (London, 1901), no. 279; cf. also Garrucci, *Storia dell' Arte cristiana*, VI, Tav. 479, 24.

PLATE XLIX



BRACELETS WITH JEWELS
MORGAN COLLECTION. NOS. 28 AND 29

Museum, New York (Fig. 52).¹ Both body and face have open work, vine leaves, and grapes within a scroll. This also is assigned to the sixth century.



FIG. 52. GOLD BRACELET FOUND IN 1902 IN THE VICINITY OF KYRENIA IN CYPRUS; NOW ON LOAN IN THE MORGAN COLLECTION AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK.

28, 29. PAIR OF GOLD BRACELETS ORNAMENTED WITH JEWELS.
MORGAN COLLECTION. PLATE XLIX

The body of these bracelets (diameter 0.06 m.) is a thin band of gold (0.023 m. wide), bent to form slightly more than three-quarters of a circle; the space between the ends is filled with the medallion face.

The body is in two parts, the clasp of the bracelet being opposite the face.

The rims are edged with a delicate bead recalling the Greek moulding (Fig. 53).

On the inner side of the body a strip having flat raised edges was soldered longitudinally. In this is cut a series of bow-shaped patterns (Fig. 53) showing the gold of the body as a background. The design is placed symmetrically; the ends of the bows on both sides of the bracelet point toward the clasp. The purpose of the strip was evidently

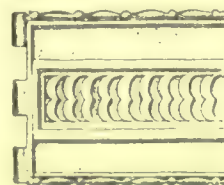


FIG. 53. BOW-SHAPED PATTERN ON INNER SIDE OF THE BODY OF THE MORGAN BRACELETS, NOS. 28, 29. ORIGINAL SIZE

¹ Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Fig. 317, and Sambon, *Le Musée*, III (1906), Pl. xx.

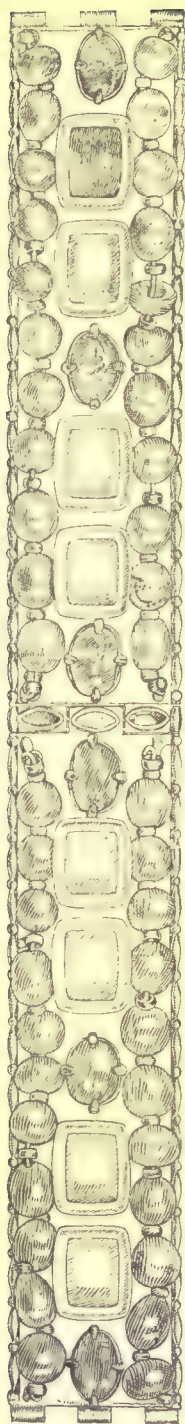


FIG. 54. MORGAN
BRACELET, NO. 29.

to provide a more solid base for the heavy settings on the outside.

Along each edge of the body is a row of twenty-two round pearls, making forty-four on each bracelet as shown in a detail sketch (Fig. 54). The pearls are threaded on wires suspended from standards (about 0.006 m. high), in groups of four and three; between the pearls is a small gold bead. All eighty-eight pearls of both bracelets are still in place.

Between the rows of pearls are fourteen settings, seven on each side between the clasp and the medallion face (Fig. 54). These seven consist of three moderate-sized Singhalese sapphires, set in an oval rim and held firmly with four claws, and four box-settings shaped like truncated pyramids inverted. The six sapphires of both bracelets are preserved. In one of the box-settings, on one bracelet only, is an emerald plasma; it is likely that the others were set with the same stone. In some of the box-settings paste remains in which the gems were embedded. The seven settings between the clasp and medallion are so arranged that a sapphire alternates with two box-settings.

Some of the sapphires have a pink or amethystine color.¹ They are oval in shape, and rather irregular, having a dull finish suggesting that they were polished by a soft buff, either leather, hide, or cloth, and not on a hard wheel.

The clasp of the bracelet consists of three flat ribbon loops (one on one side, two on the other), into which a thin folded strip slides to form the fastening. The loops of the clasp are concealed by soldering oval settings upon them; three of these on one bracelet, and one on the other,

¹ Specimens of sapphires in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London show that this stone has a wide range of color. Some are dark blue shading off to light blue, others are amethystine, blue amethystine, rose color, topaz yellow, and clear white like diamond.

PLATE I.



BRACELETS WITH DOUBLE MEDALLION FACE
VON GANS COLLECTION. NOS. 30 AND 31

are still filled with glass that has become iridescent, resembling opal.

The medallion face (diameter 0.034 m.) is attached to the body by two hinges, each having five joints; two of these are soldered to the face and three to the body. The joints are round, and each hinge is fastened with a long pin. On the two projecting ends of the pin is set a round pearl, held in place by blunting the ends of the pin. One of the four pearls is missing from each bracelet.

In the centre of the face is set a large Singhalese sapphire (about 0.018 m. long) in an oval frame, held by four pairs of claws. One of the sapphires, which has been drilled through its width, has a beautiful deep blue color. Surrounding the sapphire rise ten standards of heavy gold wire bent outward, between which ten round pearls are strung, and revolve, on a fine wire. The tops of the standards produce the effect of gold beads between the pearls. All ten pearls on each bracelet are in place. Thus each bracelet was ornamented with fifty-eight pearls, seven sapphires, eight emeralds (?), and three glass sets, or a total of seventy-six jewels.

The exterior surface of the medallion face is slightly concave, and is perforated in the centre with a single bore. It has a wide folded edge (0.004 m. wide).

The inner side of the face is set with a round plate cut with a pleasing design in openwork (Fig. 55). The design consists of an outer ring of small running spirals similar to those on nos. 5, 6, and 7; next to this is a ring of dots, and within the ring is a design of symmetrically arranged spirals ending in leaf and bud patterns. Worthy of note is the resemblance to the designs on the plaques of the necklace numbered 14 (Plate XXXVI). The leaf patterns recall similar ornamentation on Coptic monuments.¹

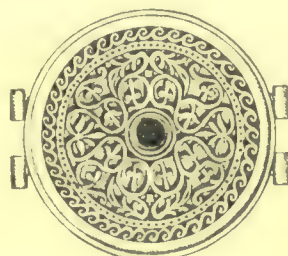


FIG. 55. DESIGN ON INNER SIDE OF THE FACE OF THE MORGAN BRACELETS, NOS 28, 29. ORIGINAL SIZE.

30, 31. GOLD BRACELETS WITH DOUBLE MEDALLION FACE. VON GANS COLLECTION. PLATE L

The body of the bracelets describes three-quarters of a ring, slightly oval (0.105 m. by 0.08 m. in diameter). This ring is

¹ For example Crum, *op. cit.*, nos. 8599, 8675, 8683, 8690-91, 8717, 8722; there are also numerous illustrations in Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, and Gayet, *op. cit.*

hollow, with six longitudinal ribs rather deeply chiselled with cross notches at short intervals, possibly to suggest a plaited chain.¹ The weight of both bracelets is 162 grammes.

The body ends in short truncated cones encircled by a ring. The double medallion face is attached to the body by hinges of two ribbed rings soldered to the ends of the body, and one soldered to the side of the face. On one side the hinge pin is set permanently; on the other is a screw pin, by means of which the bracelet was opened. In the hinges are traces of bronze pins. The hinge pins end in faceted heads, and a pellet is on the top of the hinge ring that is fastened to the face. These hinges are very similar to those on the medallions, nos. 2 and 4.

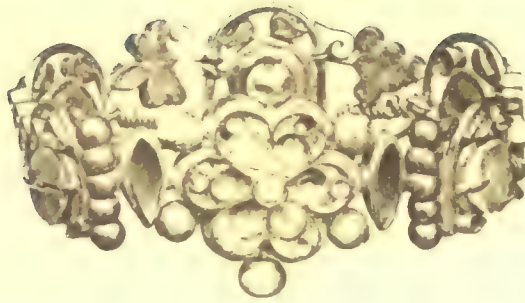
The face consists of two small framed medallions. These are held together by a three-sided, right-angled strip, visible on the back, but concealed on the front by a rosette and a three-petal ornament with a pellet centre; the decoration is similar to that of four other objects, nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4. The frames of the medallions (diameter 0.03 m.) are slightly bevelled, and have a beaded border soldered on both the outside and the inside. Each medallion with its frame is made from one piece. On each bracelet the portraits are alike, but reversed. They are framed disks; not real coins, but free-hand chiselled imitations of an obverse,² appearing in reverse on the back. An emperor is represented with a crested helmet, cuirass and military cloak. On the right medallion he faces slightly to the left; the right hand holds a spear over the shoulder, the point of the spear appearing at the right of the emperor's head. In his left hand he holds a shield bearing some device. These details are reversed on the medallion at the left.

The legend also is a barbaric imitation of some imperial coin, and is unintelligible. The narrow strip containing the legend is bounded by incised lines, which served as guides in making the letters. They are roughly outlined, and have a perpendicular

¹ Zahn, *op. cit.*, p. 92, thinks that it was to suggest "das Aussehen zu einem Bündel zusammengefasster Perlschnüre."

² Other examples of imitation coins as decoration of jewels are the two gold diadems in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, and the medallion of Tetricus which was stolen from the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris in 1831 (Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, I, p. 38.) Comparable also are the central medallions of the two pectorals, nos. 1, *a* and 3, *a*; see also Zahn, *op. cit.*, p. 83, fig. 42.

PLATE I.I



BRACELETS WITH JEWELS
VON GAMS COLLECTION. Nos. 32 AND 33

ridge between them. The legends are similar, but not identical. So far as they can be made out they are as follows:

1. Right side, ONOIO OINOI
Left side, ONO I ONOI
2. Right side, ONONI ONINO
Left side, ONOIN ONOIN

The type of head is one that appears on coins in the last of the fourth, the fifth, and the sixth centuries. One naturally thinks of DN HONORIVS as the source of the legend, but there can be no certainty that this is correct. An unintelligible coin legend occurs also on the central medallion of the pectoral, no. 1.

These imitations of real coins were not stamped from the same block, since the two with the emperor facing left, with the spear in the right hand, and their reverses, although very similar, show slight differences of detail. Zahn suggests¹ that on account of the dimensions the bracelets are too large for feminine wear.

32, 33. PAIR OF GOLD BRACELETS DECORATED WITH JEWELS.
VON GANS COLLECTION. PLATE LI

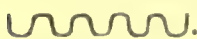
In these bracelets the body describes three quarters of an oval (0.073 m. by 0.06 m. in diameter). It was made by bending a gold wire into a scroll (about 0.017 m. wide), so as to form nine loops like a vine stem, thus . The spaces between the loops are filled alternately with circular sections of mother-of-pearl and glass paste (?) sets.² There are five of the former and four of the latter, so that a mother-of-pearl setting is placed on either side of the face of the bracelet, and one directly opposite it. The sections of mother-of-pearl are set on pins, which are soldered to opposite sides of a band ring setting, and beyond it to the wire of the scroll. In some sets the pins are exposed. Surrounding each setting are four pear-shaped settings³



FIG. 56. SHAPE OF SETTING EMPLOYED ON THE BERLIN BRACELETS, NOS. 32, 33. ENLARGED.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

² The "traces" of glass setting in this and in other objects may be only the paste by means of which the set, whatever it was, was held in place. Zahn, *op. cit.*, p. 90, suggests that garnets were used here to represent grapes and emeralds the leaves.

³ The design of vine leaves and fruit is common in Coptic art (Crum, *op. cit.*, 8599, 8718, Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, 7374, 7375), but of course occurs often elsewhere. Worthy of note is the treatment of this motive on the bracelet from Kyrenia (Fig. 52).

of a peculiar shape, with traces of paste; the shape of these settings, enlarged, appears in Fig. 56.

In the alternating loops are two designs (Fig. 57), which in turn alternate:

(1) A cluster, resembling a bunch of grapes, of six small cylindrical settings, in which are traces of paste; on one side is a single spiral which helps to strengthen the frame, and below, stretched across the loop, is a small coil of wire, like a vine tendril. The wire is wound slightly larger at one end, the larger end being placed in the direction of the face of the bracelet.

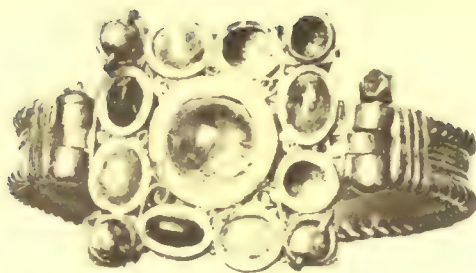
(2) A palmette cluster, resembling a vine leaf, of five settings, also containing traces of paste; on one side is a single spiral, and below is a coil of wire as previously described. The clusters representing the grapes and vine leaves are conventionalized.

All the settings are backed with gold foil, and are placed horizontally, lying in each case in the direction of the face of the bracelet. This symmetry in the reversing of types is noteworthy (Fig. 57).

To each end of the scroll a bar is soldered. To this in turn are soldered two hinge joints, shaped like double gold pearls; on one side one of these gold pearls forms the head of the screw pin. Another hinge, also pearl-shaped, is soldered to the face of the bracelet, and a screw pin on one side provides the clasp. The hinge pin was of bronze, as the traces show.

The face of the bracelet consists of a large central rosette plaque (Fig. 57) (diameter about 0.023 m.), having two layers of six petals each; a small gold pellet and a round pearl, set on a pin in the usual manner, are placed at the angles between the petals. Only one pearl on one bracelet is missing. On each side of the rosette plaque is a large oval setting, within which a rim is soldered; in one of these settings are traces of paste. In the centre of the rosette is a cone-shaped setting. This set on one bracelet has disappeared; on the other it is well preserved, and consists of glass paste now iridescent. In the inner and smaller layer of six petals, traces only of the sets remain on one bracelet; on the other, an emerald and a glass set that has become iridescent are well preserved; possibly emeralds and glass alternated. The floor of some of these settings has been pierced with an oval hole. In the outer or larger layer of six petals are traces only of paste. Small round settings are placed between the outer ends of the

PLATE LII



BRACELETS WITH JEWELS
VOX GANS COLLECTION. No. 34

petals; traces only are found on one bracelet; on the other one jewel, an emerald, is well preserved. Both the oval settings and the rosette plaque are backed with gold foil; in the case of the latter the gold foil was worked with a raised design representing a circle enclosing a star with six rays. One bracelet is in better condition than the other; all the pearls, and four sets of the rosette, are still in place.

These beautiful bracelets were executed in a fine, delicate style, and the effect of the pair in their original condition, with the splendid rosette face and imitation of the vine with tendrils, leaves, and fruit, set off by the bright colors of the sets, must have been pleasing. Zahn¹ places the bracelets at the end of the fifth century.

The weight of both bracelets is 104 grammes.

34. SINGLE BRACELET WITH JEWELS. VON GANS COLLECTION. PLATE LII

The face of the bracelet (diameter, 0.062 m.), square in shape, consists of a cluster of thirteen settings; in the centre is a large setting, and twelve smaller settings are placed along the four sides. The centre setting is cylindrical, and contains, within a slightly concave rim, an aquamarine (sapphire?).² At each of the four corners are cubical settings, within which a rim is soldered, as in the oval settings of the bracelets (32, 33), containing round pearls, of which one has fallen out; the sides of these settings are divided by diagonal lines, the upper triangle thus formed being cut away. On the top surface a ring of plain wire was soldered, from which extend two pins that pierce the pearl and hold it in place. The remaining settings are either oval or cylindrical, containing, within a slightly concave rim, either emeralds or dark red



FIG. 57. BERLIN BRACELET, NO. 32.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

² See p. 143, footnote 1.

stones, arranged apparently in alternate order; two of the settings, however, are now empty. Gold spiral-shaped strips are soldered in between the settings, which are backed with gold foil; these serve to hold them firmly together. Between the settings gold pellets are also soldered. On the right and left sides of the face is soldered a thin bar, to which a plain hinge ring is fastened.

The body of the bracelet (diameter 0.062 m.) has on the inner side a smooth strip of gold. The edges are heavy double wires, twisted; between are two bands of smaller twisted wires, one of notched and two of plain wires; the latter, four-sided, are in reality small strips cut from gold plate. Each end of the body terminates in a triple ribbed cap, to which two hinge rings are soldered. On one side the hinge pin is set permanently; on the other it consists of a screw with a faceted head, and thread wire soldered in the usual way.

35. GOLD CROSS SET WITH EMERALDS. VON GANS COLLECTION.
PLATE XXXIII, 2

The shape of the loop by which the cross was attached, and the size of the cross itself (length 0.06 m.), show that it was not originally attached to the pectoral (no. 3), to which it was attached at the time of purchase; the gold of the cross is also somewhat paler. The cross is backed with a cross-shaped plate of gold, upon which the top is carefully soldered.

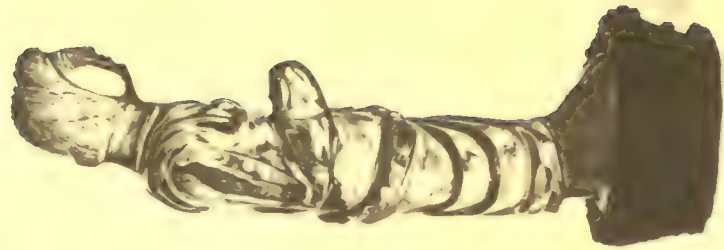
On all four arms of the cross a simple design is chiselled. At the four ends, and in the middle, are circular settings surrounded by a concave rim. In the lower end there is still an emerald. A cross of similar shape was found with the Kyrenia treasure.¹

36. PORTRAIT STATUETTE OF ROCK CRYSTAL. FREER COLLECTION. PLATES LIII, LIV

This statuette, including the base (0.015 m.) of gilded silver in which it stands, is about 0.095 m. high. The weight is 73.3 grammes.

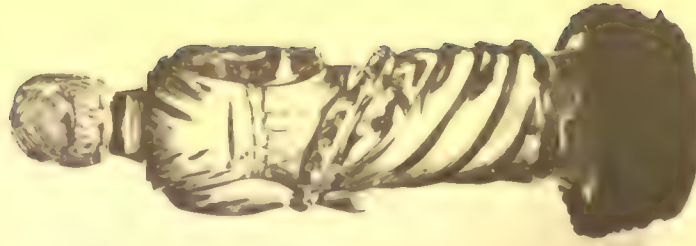
The base is thickly incrustated with oxidization; there is no trace of an inscription. The head and shoulders, which are slightly stooping, are turned a little to the right.

¹ Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Fig. 317, and Myres, *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, IV (1898), p. 109, Fig. 1.



PORTRAIT STATUETTE OF ROCK CRYSTAL
FREER COLLECTION. No. 36, FRONT, AND RIGHT PROFILE

PLATE LIV



PORTRAIT STATUETTE OF ROCK CRYSTAL
FRIER COLLECTION. No. 36, BACK, AND LEFT PROFILE

The figure is clad in a chiton and peplos. The right hand holds an object, perhaps a libation bowl. The left arm hangs straight down by the side; the feet are close together, and the pose of the whole figure is rather stiff. The hair is parted in the middle, and heavy coils fall over the forehead, extending around to the back of the neck. The figure represents a woman; the features are individualized, and the statuette is undoubtedly a portrait. It does not, however, portray an empress; an empress would have a diadem. Specimens of portrait sculpture later than the fourth century A.D. are rare, and generally, on account of their lack of individuality, are difficult to identify. This statuette is not lacking in individuality, but search has thus far failed to find the type elsewhere.

Between the feet there is a curious boring (about 0.0075 m. in diameter at the opening) made nearly through the crystal, from the front. The purpose of this, seemingly, was to separate the feet plastically, so that they should not seem to be made of one piece.

The bottom of the base in places spreads outward and shows a freshly broken edge; from this fact it may be assumed that the statuette originally stood upon some object from which it was deliberately wrenched in modern times.

Crystal (*crystallus*, κρύσταλλος) was found in India, Asia Minor, Cyprus, and in the Alps, that from the Alps, according to Pliny, being preferred.¹ While crystal was commonly employed in antiquity to make seals, spherical pendants, and cups,² the use of this material for making statuettes seems to have been exceedingly rare; indeed, because of its transparency, it was not well adapted to this purpose.

In classical antiquity precious stones of any kind were not frequently used to represent the human figure. In the Metropolitan Museum at New York, however, is a statuette of Nike in chalcedony, belonging to the late Greek period. Among the finds upon the Esquiline Hill in Rome in 1545 many objects of crystal are reported, and among them 'a figure with a base' (una figura con la base).³ In the Münzcabinet at Munich is a crystal statu-

¹ *N. H.* 37, 23-29. Cf. also Isid. *De Etymol.*, XVI, 13.

² Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei den Griechen und Römern*, III, p. 249, IV, p. 386.

³ Rostowzew, *Röm. Mitth.*, 1898, pp. 91, 92.

ette 0.105 m. high, representing the upper half figure of a man dressed in tunic and toga and dating from the second century A.D.¹ The Louvre has a statuette of rock crystal representing the torso of a figure wearing the cuirass, perhaps a Roman emperor. In the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris are four objects in crystal of the ancient period, the fore part of a horse, a fish, and two small female heads (0.028 m. and 0.026 m. high respectively).² A fragment of a boar in crystal, found at Pergamum, is in the Antiquarium in Berlin. Watzinger³ describes a fragment of a crystal statuette of Hercules and the lion (0.045 m. high), which was found during excavations on the west slope of the Acropolis at Athens. There are several small objects in crystal (fishes, locusts, and small vessels) in the Naples Museum.⁴ In Cyprus in the Greek period,⁵ and later in the Roman period,⁶ crystal was employed for vases and rings.

The use of crystal for cups and small portrait heads in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and in Chinese art, is well known.

No known specimen of crystal, however, throws light on the interpretation of this statuette.

¹ Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen* (Leipzig, 1900), III, p. 368, fig. 204. Compare also Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium* (Berlin, 1896), p. 353, nos. 11362 fol.

² Babelon, *Catalogue des Camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1897), nos. 198, 207, 329, 331.

³ *Athen. Mitth.*, 1901, pp. 326, 327.

⁴ Borioni, *Collect. Antiqu. Rom.*, Taf. III, according to Sittl, *Archäologie der Kunst* (ed. 1895, p. 221), has a representation of a small figure in crystal.

⁵ Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection* (New York, 1914), pp. 394, 425.

⁶ Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, I, Pl. xlviii, 5, xlix, 11, 11 a.

In Memoriam

WALTER DENNISON was born near Ypsilanti, Michigan, August 9, 1869.

Upon graduating from the University of Michigan, in 1893, he was appointed to the Elisha Jones Classical Fellowship for two years. During the first year of his tenure he continued his studies in the Graduate School of the University, receiving the degree of Master of Arts in 1894. The following year he went abroad, studying first at the University of Bonn, then in Italy.

In the fall of 1895 the newly founded American School of Classical Studies in Rome opened its doors, and to Dennison fell the distinction of appointment to one of the two fellowships first established in connection with the School. The appointment was renewed for the second year, 1896-97.

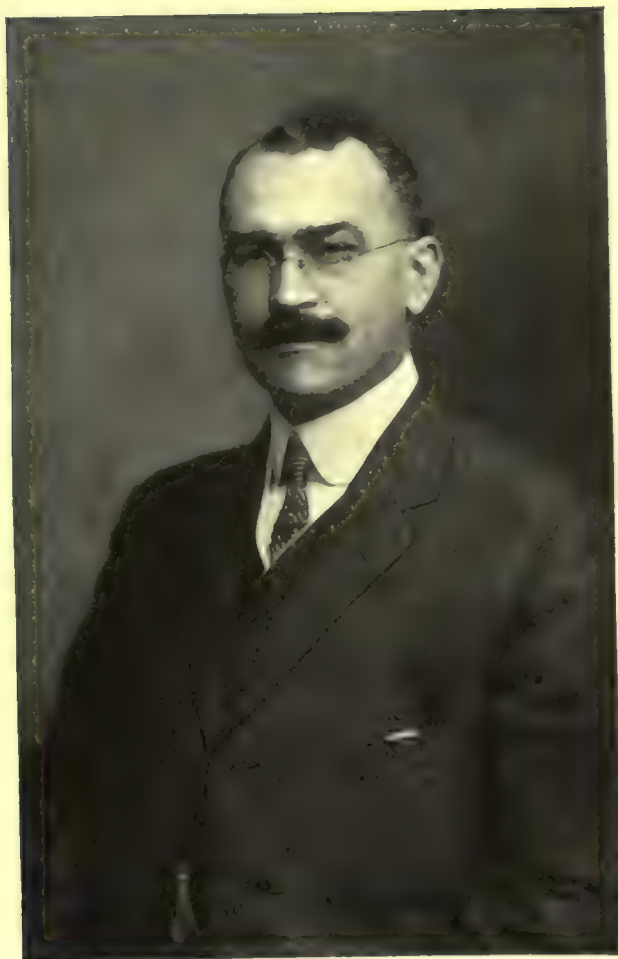
Four published papers were the immediate outcome of Mr. Dennison's study in Italy. The first of these, "Some New Inscriptions from Puteoli, Baiæ, Misenum and Cumæ," appeared in the *American Journal of Archaeology* in 1898. Presenting, as it did, the new inscriptions that had been obtained by De Criscio, the erudite parish priest of Pozzuoli, it was an important supplement to the earlier publication of De Criscio's Collection by Mommsen in the tenth volume of the corpus of Latin Inscriptions. Moreover the warm regard which the aged ecclesiastic came to have for the young American scholar made possible the negotiations which led to the transfer of the De Criscio Collection to the University of Michigan. A second paper, "The Epigraphic Sources of Suetonius," accepted by the University of Michigan as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, was published in the same journal in 1898. An article entitled "Syllabification in Latin Inscriptions" appeared in the first volume of *Classical Philology*, and summarized admirably the results of an examination of practically all the available material. The last of the four papers, "The Movements of the Chorus chanting the Carmen Sæculare of Horace," was published in the first volume of the *University of Michigan Studies*, Humanistic Series.

While by the range and the quality of this earlier work Dennison proved himself to be a scholar of unusual promise, on his return to the United States he showed also that he had the qualifications of a successful teacher. For two years he was an instructor in Latin at the University of Michigan; then went to Oberlin College as Professor of Latin (1899-1902), but returned to Michigan in 1902 as Junior Professor of Latin. Upon his students he impressed himself by the breadth and soundness of his scholarship, by his devotion to the highest ideals, and by his modesty and sincerity. He knew them well and took a personal interest in their welfare. He published several articles on educational subjects, and some textbooks, and was a member of educational as well as scientific associations. He was on the staff of lecturers of the Archæological Institute of America.

In 1908-09 he was again in Italy as "Annual Professor" in the American School of Classical Studies; and while in Cairo as a delegate to the Archæological Congress, he learned of the discovery of the first portion of the Gold Treasure. Upon his recommendation this was brought to the attention of Mr. Charles L. Freer, who obtained it for his art collection. In 1910 Mr. Dennison accepted the headship of the combined departments of Latin and Greek in Swarthmore College.

Of later contributions the most frequently cited has been the article "A New Head of the So-called Scipio Type: An Attempt at its Identification," published in 1905 in the *American Journal of Archaeology*. Here it was shown conclusively that the busts which previously had been identified as portraits of the most famous of the Scipios, represented in reality several unnamed priests of the Goddess Isis. This paper was characterized by thoroughness of search, accurate observation of minute details, command of literary sources, balanced judgment and lucidity; and these same qualities in a high degree are manifest in the present monograph, Dennison's last piece of work.

Mr. Dennison left unfinished a volume on the Latin and Greek inscriptions in the collection of the University of Michigan, and some other work which he had either actually begun or definitely planned. His passing, in the prime of his life, is a distinct loss both to scholarship and to education.



WALTER DENNISON

1869-1917

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